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The
TOWNS
OF ANCIENT
RUS

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Chapter One

RISE OF RUSSIAN TOWNS

1. TOWNS OF THE 9th-10th CENTURIES

In Scandinavian sources, Rus is called Gardariki, a land of towns. That agrees with reports by an anonymous 9th-century Bavarian geographer (866-90), a fragment of whose writings has come down to us in a late 11th-century manuscript. His information antecedes that of the Russian chronicle and of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and is, for that reason, particularly valuable. He mentions several Slav tribes and counts their towns. The Buzhane (busani) had 230 towns; the Ulichi (unlizi), a "numerous people," 318; the Volynyane (velunzeni), 70, etc. He may have used a Byzantine source because he gives a "description of cities and regions on the northern bank of the Danube" (*descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubium*), which was the boundary of Byzantium's possessions. To the north of it sprawled a vast area populated by various Ante tribes, warring against the Byzantine Empire.[1]

The towns were unquestionably very small, for he says that the Attorosi tribe (which Šafařík correctly interprets

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[1] P. J. Šafařík, *Slowanske starožitnosti.* v Praze 1837, pp. 550-51, 996-97.

as being the Tivertsy) had 148 towns. Even at a much later date, such a number of sizable urban settlements could scarcely have found room along the Dnieper and the Bug, where, according to the manuscript, the Tivertsy and the Ulichi lived. The writer of the manuscript speaks of these tribes in the past tense and adds: "Their towns stand to this day." This somewhat obscure statement should be interpreted to signify that the remains of these Tivertsy and Ulichi towns were extant in his time (11th century).

What were these 9th-century Slav towns like?

Procopius and other Byzantine authors are our most reliable sources on the Eastern and Southern Slavs of the 6th-7th centuries. "They live," says Procopius of the Slavs and the Antes, "in wretched hovels far away from each other, and often migrate."[1] The Byzantine, accustomed to the luxury of the well-built cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, obviously scorns these Slav dwellings. According to another Byzantine author, almost a contemporary of Procopius, the Slav settlements were not as wretched as the latter would have us believe. The author offers advice on how best to plunder Slav settlements. The troops, he says, should be divided into two detachments moving along two different roads and plundering the vicinity. In the case of a big settlement, not too many warriors should do the plundering; a part of them should protect the marauders.[2]

The Slav settlements were situated close to each other but were poorly fortified. They are the "cities" mentioned by the anonymous Bavarian author, who reckons them in the hundreds for some Slav tribes.

The conclusions made on the strength of written sources have recently been borne out by the spade. Various artifacts discovered in the Dniester basin indicate that there were handicraft industries in that area in the early centuries of our era. Researchers point to the continuity

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[1] Procopius, *De bello gothico*, Moscow, 1950, p. 297.
[2] See *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, No. 1, 1941, pp. 256-57.

in the culture of the Dniester country and Kiev Rus. Some strongholds were well fortified but small. They were embryonic towns where the population of the surrounding area sought shelter from enemy raids.[1]

The absence of sizable Slav strongholds before the 9th century has led Braichevsky to conclude that "there were no fortified settlements (*gorodishches*) in the area around the middle Dnieper, the Dniester and the Bug in the Ante period (between the 2nd and mid-7th centuries A.D.) which preceded Kiev Rus."[2] He ascribes the fact to the existence of an Ante state. Needless to say that this is at variance with historical fact, since such a state had to have cities as fortified administrative centres. Even as an embryo, the state, to be a state, must have organs of administrative power. Moreover, it is not under the primitive community system, but under the slave or the feudal system that the state makes its appearance. Who then stood at the head of the Ante state if it was more than a mere tribal alliance? Braichevsky gives no answer.

Let us note an interesting and well-founded observation of the author. He says that "the earliest Russian strongholds emerge in the 8th-9th centuries." By that time the area of the middle Dnieper, the Dniester and the Bug is the scene of a "transformation of the basic type of settlement—unfortified villages in the lowlying places give way to strongholds on elevated and naturally sheltered ground."[3] Not all of them, by far, had a resident population. Some were typical refugia.

[1] М. Ю. Смишко, *Раннеславянская культура Поднестровья в свете новых археологических данных* (M. Y. Smishko, *Early Slav Culture in the Dniester Area in the Light of New Archaeological Facts*); Г. Б. Фёдоров, *Работа славяноднестровской экспедиции* (G. B. Fyodorov, *The Slav Dniester Expedition*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury (IIMK)*, Vol. XLIV, 1952, pp. 67-82 and 83-92.

[2] М. Ю. Брайчевский, *К происхождению древнерусских городов*, (M. Y. Braichevsky, *Rise of Towns in Ancient Rus*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLI, 1951, pp. 32-33.

[3] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

Archaeologists have discovered such strongholds in the upper reaches of the Dniester as well.

The history of these townlets—*tverds*—merits special attention, but is outside the scope of this work. We are primarily interested in towns as permanent populated localities which developed into handicraft and trading centres. The date when the new towns emerged with their resident population of handicraftsmen and traders is of particular importance and interest. Naturally, this new type of town did not make its appearance overnight and in the same way in all parts of the land. At the summit of urban development in Kiev and Novgorod there existed in the remote land of the Vyatichi townlets which were reminiscent of the ancient Ante refugia described by Procopius, but they were typical only for remote areas. By that time, urban life in Rus had made great progress.

What then is the period of permanent urban settlements in Rus? What are the stages of their development? I shall try to answer these questions on the strength of written and archaeological memorials.

The mist enveloping the history of 8th-century Rus because of the total absence of written sources, lifts in the 9th and 10th centuries when the testimony of the chronicles comes to our aid. Nevertheless, the number of ancient Rus cities cannot be established with any certitude even for that period, because our chief source of information, the chronicle, contains only scattered and vague data on the subject. Besides, it speaks, as a rule, only about the comparatively big urban centres, but small towns must have also existed at that time.

Judging from the chronicle, there were more than a score of Russian cities in the 9th and 10th centuries. I enumerate them below giving the date of their foundation or first mention in the sources: Belgorod (980),[1] Beloozero (according

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 78. The item for 991 says that Vladimir founded Belgorod, but it would seem that what is meant is the construction of a *gorod* in the full sense of the word, i.e., of a fortification.

to the chronicle it existed from the earliest times) (1862),[1] Vasilev (988),[2] Vyshgorod (946),[3] Vruchy (977),[4] Izborsk (862),[5] Iskorosten (946),[6] Kiev (according to the chronicle it existed in the earliest period),[7] Ladoga (862),[8] Lyubech (882),[9] Murom (862),[10] Novgorod (some sources say it was founded in remote antiquity, others date it to 862),[11] Peresechen (922),[12] Peremyshl (981),[13] Pereyaslavl (907),[14] Polotsk (862),[15] Pskov (903),[16] Rodnya (980),[17] Rostov (862),[18] Smolensk (mentioned among the earliest Rus cities),[19] Turov (980),[20] Cherven (981),[21] Chernigov (907).[22]

The chronicles inform us of the existence of at least 23 Russian cities in the 9th and 10th centuries, but this list is obviously incomplete. Thus, Suzdal is first mentioned in 1024, but must surely have existed as a town much earlier.[23] The tractate of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the admin-

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 19; it is mentioned as populated by *Ves* (p. 10). (*Ves*—initially meant village.—*Tr.*)

[2] Ibid., p. 109.

[3] Ibid., p. 58.

[4] Ibid., p. 73.

[5] Ibid., p. 19.

[6] Ibid., p. 54.

[7] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[8] Earlier and Later Versions of the *Novgorod Annals*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, first mention Ladoga in 922 (p. 109). *Ipaty Annals* credit Ryurik with the founding of Ladoga: "And he built the city of Ladoga." (St. Petersburg, 1871, p. 11.)

[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 22.

[10] Ibid., p. 19.

[11] See below, same chapter.

[12] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 109.

[13] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 80.

[14] Ibid., p. 30.

[15] Ibid., p. 19.

[16] Ibid., p. 28.

[17] Ibid., p. 76.

[18] Ibid., p. 19.

[19] Ibid., p. 10.

[20] Ibid., p. 74.

[21] Ibid., p. 80.

[22] Ibid., p. 30.

[23] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 144. It is called both Suzdal and Suzhdal in the chronicles. First mention of it is made in the story of the soothsayer uprising.

istration of his empire proves that our list of Rus cities, compiled on the strength of the chronicle, is not full. The names he uses are distorted, but they hint at towns closely connected with the great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." The Byzantine Emperor is aware of the existence of Nemogardas or Novgorod, Miliniska or Smolensk, Telyutsy or Lyubech, Chernigoga or Chernigov, Vyshegrad or Vyshgorod, and Vitichev. He knew of towns which were clustered around Kiev, that major trading centre of Rus trade with Byzantium along the great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." Constantine Porphyrogenitus names Novgorod as the starting point of trade caravans from Rus to Constantinople, but fails to mention many of the towns we find in the chronicle. He also mentions Vitichev, which appears in the chronicle only in the late 11th century under the name of Vitichev Hill—an indication that the place was deserted. The fact that the Byzantine author mentions such a town as Vitichev is in itself of value to the scholar, for it is an indication that there existed towns in the 10th century which for some reason are not listed in the chronicle. Its enumeration of Rus towns may be considered incomplete even in respect of the major urban centres.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus uses distorted names of Rus cities, which was apparently due to the source he had at his disposal. Thus, he transcribes Novgorod as Nemogardas, a form similar to the one used in the Scandinavian sources, and this leads us to presume that he had recourse to the oral reports of the Normans who came to Constantinople.[1]

One is struck by the total absence of Scandinavian and Khazar names. Even Ladoga could not have been built by the Scandinavians, because their sources have another name (Aldeigaborg) for it. The legend about Tur who came from

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[1] Modern publishers of his tractate correct Nemogardas to Nevogardas, but this, in any case, remains unsubstantiated. (*Izvestia gosudarstvennol Akademii istorii materialnoi kultury*, Issue 91, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, pp. 8, 52.)

overseas and built the city of Turov ("The Turovtsy were called after him")[1] must be a later invention, because the name Tur is of Slav origin. *The Lay of Igor's Host* mentions "Wild *Tur** Vsevolod." This name may have been very popular in the thick Pripyat forests, where the wild aurochs abounded. It will be recalled that a Tur's Chapel existed in Kiev. This may have been a church built by a certain Tur, unless it got its name from a place known as Turovo.[2]

An analysis of the above-listed Rus cities (totalling 25 with Suzdal and Vitichev) shows that a part of them had beyond doubt originated in the 9th century. They are Beloozero, Izborsk, Kiev, Ladoga, Lyubech, Murom, Novgorod, Polotsk, Rostov, Smolensk, and, possibly, Chernigov. What should be noted is that this list includes not only the earliest, but also the biggest Rus cities of whose origin the chroniclers themselves had a very vague idea. Izborsk alone lost in importance at an early date, being overshadowed by neighbouring Pskov. There is naturally no reason to presume that the other cities sprang up only in the 10th century, but I have singled out only those whose beginnings can be traced to an earlier period with certitude.

The slanderous theories describing the Eastern Slavs as a wild people whose culture originated only after the appearance of the Normans in the north or the Khazars in the south, naturally induce us to find out who built the first Rus cities. The overwhelming majority of Russian cities bear Slav names. Among them are Belgorod, Beloozero, Vasilev, Vitichev, Vyshgorod, Vruchy, Izborsk, Iskorosten, Lyubech, Novgorod, Peremyshl, Peresechen, Pereyaslavl, Polotsk, Pskov, Rodnya, Smolensk, Cherven, and, very probably, Chernigov, Rostov and Turov. There are a number of villages called Chernyakhov (which is akin to Chernigov) in the

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals,* p. 74.

* *Tur*—aurochs.—*Tr.*

[2] Khodakovsky believed the report that Turov was founded by the legendary Tur, who came from overseas, to be a legend. He adduces numerous names derived from the root "tur." (*Russky istorichesky sbornik,* Vol. VII, Moscow, 1844, pp. 342-45.)

former Poltava, Chernigov, Volyn and Kiev provinces in the Ukraine. Sobolevsky believes that Rostov is a derivative of the first name "Rost," or "Rast," and that Turov is of similar origin. We have the Russian *-ev* (*-ov*) ending in the word Kiev, which an early chronicler traces to Kiy (the Slav *kiy* meaning hammer). It would seem then that only the cities of Ladoga and Murom bear names that are not of Slav origin. The latter is a tribal name, for, the chronicler says, it was named after a people of that name. Suzdal, or Suzhdal, may have been of similar tribal origin. Besides, it is highly probable that even Ladoga, Murom and Suzdal were built by the Slavs and named after earlier settlements.

It follows, therefore, that the earliest Russian towns were founded by the Eastern Slavs rather than by some other people. The Eastern Slavs were, consequently, the first and principal founders of towns and urban life in Kiev Rus. Since towns are wellsprings of culture, it is the Slavs who are mainly to be credited with the development of Russian culture.

The history of Russian cities deals a decisive blow to miscellaneous concepts which present the Normans, the Khazars and Goths and other peoples as the architects of Russia's state system and culture.

The development of the earliest Russian towns is best shown by the major centres of Ancient Rus about which fragmentary written testimonials have been preserved. Their existence in the 9th and 10th centuries is attested to by the chronicle (Kiev, Chernigov, Smolensk, Polotsk, Pskov, Novgorod and Ladoga); as well as by Byzantine (Kiev, Chernigov, Smolensk and Novgorod) and Scandinavian sources (Novgorod, Polotsk and Ladoga). Recent Soviet excavations have yielded a wealth of material on their early history.

It should be pointed out, however, that here the testimony of the spade is somewhat peculiar, for it deals chiefly with burial grounds adjacent to the ancient towns and not with the territories of these towns. Such are the extensive Kiev

necropolis, the burial mounds around Chernigov, the Gnezdovo kurgans around Smolensk, and the tumuli in the vicinity of Ladoga. In some cases, the ancient burial grounds are partially located within the town precincts (Kiev and Chernigov), in others they are situated at a certain distance (Ladoga and Smolensk), which is possibly due to local features of a religious nature. The tumuli around Ladoga and the Gnezdovo kurgans are located at a certain distance from the towns and in places bearing characteristic names, such as Plakun (near Ladoga) and Gnezdovo. The former is a derivative of the ancient Russian *plakati*—to bewail the dead (the *Izbornik* of 1073 says: "They bewail* the dead"). Dal's *Dictionary* interprets *plakusha* as a woman bewailing the dead. The name Gnezdovo is a derivative of *gnezdo*,** which in ancient Russian signified gens. Gnezno, an ancient Polish city, is probably of similar origin.

A highly peculiar fact is thus established: big necropoleis existed around the earliest Rus towns or in their immediate vicinity. They served as burial grounds chiefly for the higher orders, which explains the abundance of weapons and ornaments they yield. None the less, they give us a fair idea of the handicrafts and trade of 9th- and 10th-century Rus cities.

The most comprehensive written and archaeological data are available on the history of ancient Kiev. Even the chronicle, which is not at all inclined to belittle Kiev's past, records the existence of three tiny settlements on its site. These were the seats of three brothers: Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv, who "built a city in honour of their eldest brother and called it Kiev. There was a great forest around it, and they engaged in the trapping of beasts."[1]

We find three small settlements near each other with one of them more conveniently situated on a hill overlooking

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* The original says *plachyutsya. Plach-* is a phonetic variant of *plak-.—Tr.*

** *Gnezdo*—literally means nest.—*Tr.*

[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, edited by V. P. Adrianova-Perets, Part 1, Moscow-Leningrad, pp. 12-13.

the Dnieper. The chronicler was also aware that when these three settlements existed, the Polyane "lived each with his own kin and in their own places." Indeed, recent excavations on Kiselyovka Hill near Kiev have proved that settlements on that hill existed side by side with Kiev from the earliest times.

M.K. Karger, a student of Kiev's archaeological monuments, believes that there were on the site at least three "independent settlements in the 8th-10th centuries"; this agrees with the legend about the three brothers.[1] It was only late in the 10th century that they merged into a single town. This, of course, requires additional verification, because the chronicler describes 10th-century Kiev as a big town.

What Kiy and his brothers founded was a small settlement. The chronicler calls it a *gradok*, rather than a *gorod*,[*] thus emphasizing its small size.

The story of its seizure by Askold and Dir, who spread their rule among the neighbouring Polyane, reveals another aspect of Kiev's role in that land. It is called the chief town in the "land of the Polyane," the centre of the "Polyane land," and is no longer a *gradok*, but a *gorod*. The report of the death of Askold and Dir gives a more vivid picture. Oleg's envoys tell the Kiev princes: "We are merchants on our way to Greece from Oleg and from Igor, the young prince." Askold and Dir see nothing strange in the arrival of merchants in Kiev, the political and trading centre of the land of the Polyane.

Askold and Dir, who ruled in Kiev in the late 9th century, chose it as the centre of their principality because it gave easy access to the Black Sea along the Dnieper. And this argues Kiev to have become a trading centre at least in the first half of the 9th century and possibly earlier. The chroni-

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[1] М. К. Каргер, *Археологические исследования древнего Киева. Отчеты и материалы* (M. K. Karger, *Archaeological Studies of Ancient Kiev. Reports and Materials*), Kiev, 1950.

[*] *Grad* and *gorod* are phonetic variants. The ending -ok is diminutive.—*Tr*.

cler's vague report about the Kievites paying tribute to the Khazars recalls its participation in Khazar trade. Arab authors knew Kiev as a trading centre, and one of them considered Kuiab (Kiev) a bigger town than Great Bulgar. But it seems that the Arabs learned of Kiev through the Khazars, whence Al-Jaihani's story that foreign merchants were being killed in Kiev, a report probably circulated by Khazar merchants to frighten away competitors.[1]

Scattered topographical data in the chronicle leave no doubt that 10th-century Kiev was situated on the hills above the Dnieper and that its riverside Podol district was nonexistent. None the less, it had already become a real city with a princely palace, pagan temples and a Christian church. A hill, "on which stood Perun," is mentioned in such an authentic document as Igor's treaty with the Byzantine emperors in the year 945. "Weapons and shields and gold were placed" at its foot, "and Igor and his men, who were heathens, came to take the oath there." The Christians from among them took the oath at the Church of St. Ilya, "which stands above the Ruchai, at the edge of the Pasynok Beseda." Without delving into its actual location, I must note that *pasynok*[2] meant the *druzhinnik*, or man-at-arms, while *beseda*[*] was a gathering place, a meeting place for talks, a small building. Varangians made up a considerable section of the prince's *druzhina*, or body-guard, and, adds the chronicler, many of them were Christians.

We are able to judge of 10th-century Kiev on the strength of brief topographical notes entered in the chronicle in the sixties and seventies of the 11th century. Describing the

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[1] Фр. Вестберг, *К анализу восточных источников о Восточной Европе* (Fr. Vestberg, *An Analysis of Eastern Sources on Eastern Europe*), *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education*, 1908, February and March.

[2] The word *pasynok* meaning man-at-arms is apparently derived from the verb *pasati*—to gird one with a sword. This ritual is similar to the dubbing of a knight in Western Europe. Polish King Boleslaus *passashe* (dubbed) many men of boyar extraction (see *Ipaty Annals*, 1149, p. 270).

[*] Today, *pasynok* means stepson; *beseda*—talk.—*Tr.*

Drevlyane visit to Olga, the chronicler gives the following topographical background to his story: "The waters ran near Kiev Hill, and no one lived in Podol, but on the hill. The town of Kiev was situated where the baileys of Gordyata and Nikifor stand today, while the prince's bailey was in the town, where the baileys of Vorotislav and Chudin now stand, and the nets were without the town; there was another bailey without the town where the bailey of the church singer stands today beyond the Church of the Mother of God, above the hill; it had a stone keep in it."[1]

This brief description in the chronicle gives us a fair idea of 10th-century Kiev. First of all, we learn the important fact that Podol was settled much later, while the *lyudi*, or citizens, lived on the hill, where the town itself stood. The princely bailey was in the town, while another princely bailey stood without. A stone keep stood beyond the Church of the Mother of God, i.e., behind the Church of the Tithes. The "bailey with the stone keep without the town" is also mentioned in the story about Olga's vengeance on the Drevlyane.

The above makes it clear that the fortified locality, the town proper, occupied a very small territory. The town was extended by Yaroslav, who in 1037 founded "the great city of Kiev" with its Golden Gates. Prior to this, the site where St. Sophia's Cathedral was later built was a field "without the city," like Podol on the low bank of the Dnieper remained deserted.

Excavations on the site confirm the presumption that the initial town was small. This is indicated by the remains of an ancient moat, near the Church of the Tithes, which surrounded 8th-9th-century Kiev.[2] Traces of mud-huts dating from the same period were also discovered in that area.

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 40. Chudin's bailey is mentioned in the *Pravda of the Yaroslavichi* and in the 1068 events in Kiev. This approximately dates the topographical note in the chronicle.

[2] M. K. Каррер, *К вопросу о Киеве в VIII-IX вв.* (M. K. Karger, *Concerning 8th-9th-Century Kiev*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury*, Vol. VI, 1940, pp. 61-66.

Kiev occupied a small territory, an indication that it was at the initial stage of development. It had already ceased to be a *gradok*—refugium—and had become the "mother of Russian cities." It dominated the other Rus cities, but only began to develop as a trading and handicraft centre in the 9th-10th centuries.

The materials from the extensive Kiev necropolis supplement the chronicle's brief, fragmentary and confused reports about 9th-10th-century Kiev. "The Kiev necropoleis extend over a vast territory from the heights overlooking the Kirill Church in the north up to Pechersk in the south; in the west, they extend beyond the early town limits well up to Lybed at the foot of Batu Hills; in the east, they are naturally bounded by the precipice above the Dnieper. At one time, the Kiev necropolis was bigger than the other burial grounds, whose traces have come down to us."[1]

The earliest of the Kiev tumuli date back to the 9th century. Male burials contain iron knives with bone hafts, spear- and arrow-heads, stirrups, and so forth. Female burials yield miscellaneous silver, copper, and, rarely, gold ornaments, as well as necklaces and crosses. Log sepulchres are much richer. "An abundance of particularly rich ornaments, the elegance of gold and silver jewellery, sumptuous costumes and large quantities of dirhems—all emphasize that their owners belonged to Kiev's higher orders."[2] Byzantine coins and Arab dirhems date the sepultures to the 9th-10th centuries.

Some articles discovered in graves and log sepulchres are of local origin. Among them is a "silver ear-ring with three balls covered with rough dicing." This is a prototype of the so-called Kiev ear-ring evolved back in the 11th century. Other ear-rings are reminiscent of the so-called Volyn type, also locally manufactured. L. Golubeva, who studied the

[1] Л. А. Голубева, *Киевский некрополь* (L. A. Golubeva, *The Kiev Necropolis*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No, 11, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, p. 103.
[2] Ibid., p. 114.

Kiev necropolis, believes the shell-like bronze fibulae to be also of local origin. The number of articles manufactured locally in the 9th-10th centuries is swelled substantially by the addition of miscellaneous household utensils, such as iron knives, flints (for kindling), spear- and arrow-heads, etc. This indicates that in the 9th-10th centuries, Kiev artisans manufactured metal household articles and weapons and fashioned primitive ornaments mostly of silver and copper and sometimes of gold. Discoveries of scales and weights together with a coin of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-954), indicate that Kiev traded with Byzantium, and remind us of the merchants who went to Constantinople and lived in St. Mama, one of its suburbs. The crosses and pendants yielded by the graves show that Christianity was widespread in 9th-10th-century Kiev.

On the whole, the Kiev of that period appears to be a town with a handicraft industry and trade, but scarcely with a considerable population of handicraftsmen. In essence, it was a city of princes and their escorts. The *lyudi,* or citizens, make up a large section of the population but are closely associated with the prince's court and his retinue, while the handicraftsmen as such are mostly bondmen.

This is also true of other early Rus towns, primarily Novgorod.

The chronicles give two versions of Novgorod's origin, ascribing it first to the Slovenes and then to Ryurik. Incidentally, there is no contradiction between the two, since Ryurik may have built Gorodishche,* which is known as Ryurik's Gorodishche. Indeed, according to the chronicle, Ryurik built a town on Lake Ilmen. This looks more like Gorodishche than Novgorod, because the former stands on the Volkhov, where it empties into Lake Ilmen. True, A.V. Artsikhovsky doubts the early emergence of Gorodishche and believes it to have been founded by princes who left Novgorod in the 12th century. This requires verification, because late 10th- and early 11th-century artifacts were discovered

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* *Gorodishche*—fortified town.—*Tr.*

on its site. Among them was an enamelled gold plate of Byzantine workmanship.[1] Excavations by M.K. Karger, who found fragments of 9th- and 10th-century ceramics, also argue it to be highly ancient.

A.V. Artsikhovsky's recent excavations shed some light on Novgorod itself. Yaroslav's 10th-century bailey stood on the site of a pre-Christian burial ground, which proves that the place was not inhabited at the time. An Arabian 10th-century dirhem was discovered under a paving in the course of excavations on Slavno Hill. Artsikhovsky believes that we could presume the existence of settlements on Slavno Hill but "without particular assurance."[2] Consequently, the archaeological facts indicate that Novgorod's Torgovaya Storona (Trade District) was settled only in the 10th century, while its earliest settlements were situated on Slavno Hill.

Still, the obscure topography of Novgorod's Trade District which has not been elucidated by the spade to this day permits us to infer that it began to grow in the 10th century, although the first settlements there may have sprung up much earlier. There was a persistent legend in Novgorod about the existence of an ancient town called Slovensk. "And he went up the Dnieper," says a late Novgorod chronicle about St. Andrew the Apostle, "and came to Slovensk, where the city of Veliky (Great) Novgorod now stands."[3] This connects it with the tribal name of the Ilmen Slovenes which was preserved in Rus for a long time. A list of early 15th-century Rus towns places the town of Slovensk in the neighbourhood of Serpeisk and Kozelsk. Yet we must not infer that the old legend about the existence of Slovensk on the cite of Novgorod is untrue merely because there is

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[1] *Novgorodsky istorichesky sbornik*, Issues III-IV, Novgorod, 1938, p. 219.

[2] А. В. Арциховский, *Раскопки на Славне в Новгороде* (A.V. Artsikhovsky, *Excavations of Slavno in Novgorod*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 124-25.

[3] *Rossiiskaya letopis po spisku Sofeiskomu Velikago Novagrada*, Part 1, St. Petersburg, 1795, p. 3.

no mention of a settlement on Slavno Hill. We should bear in mind that the site of the ancient town has not yet been thoroughly studied.

It was only recently that the settlements on the Sophia Storona and the Detinets (Kremlin) were dated. Excavations on the site of the Nerevsky End, north of the Kremlin, proved that it was inhabited since ancient times. Thus, its lower layers yielded lemon-shaped beads which, Artsikhovsky says, made their appearance as early as the 9th century, but "are not to be found in the 11th." He adds that they are a "sure sign of the 10th century." The spherical cornelian beads discovered in the Nerevsky End are still more remarkable, for "this type is an exception in the 10th century, although not a rare one, and is an absolute rarity in the 11th century and later."[1]

It becomes clear then that settlements had existed in Novgorod's Nerevsky End as early as in the 9th-10th centuries. They sprang up in the immediate vicinity of the northern, most ancient part of the Detinets where the Novgorod bishop had his house and where St. Sophia's Cathedral stood. They were the nuclei of the Novgorod *posad** which grew rapidly in subsequent centuries. Such *posads* were usually founded and developed close to and under the protection of the town's forts.

At all events, Novgorod's initial history appears to be very similar to that of Kiev. At first, it was a small walled town, a tribal centre (it is immaterial whether it was called Slovensk or otherwise), and later became the citadel of one of the princes. As in Kiev, urban life began to develop intensively in the 9th-10th centuries.

The above is true of other early towns, such as Polotsk, Pskov and Suzdal.

[1] А. В. Арциховский и М. Н. Тихомиров, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1951 г.).* (A. V. Artsikhovsky and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls [1951 Excavations]*), Moscow, 1953, p. 58 (definitions by Artsikhovsky).

* *Posad*—suburb.—*Tr.*

A.N. Lyavdansky's excavations in ancient Polotsk have yielded exceedingly valuable material. It was established, that Verkhny Zamok (Upper Citadel), the present site of the stone St. Sophia's Church, was not fortified, although, judging from the late 10th- and early 11th-century potsherds, a settlement may have existed there. Nizhny Zamok (Lower Citadel) emerged even later. The nucleus of the city should be located somewhere on the right bank of the Polota, where the ancient *gorodishche* stands. The articles found there date from the 11th-12th centuries; the gilded plaque and the pottery may be dated to the 10th century, and some potsherds even to the 9th. Lyavdansky says that the site yielded some earlier potsherds which "may be dated to the 9th-10th centuries."[1] A study of the precipice on the Western Dvina in the Zapolotye (the area beyond the Polota), or Polotsk's "ancient city," revealed that it was settled from the earliest times, possibly from the 10th century.

Lyavdansky believes that the fortifications were initially located in the Polotsk *gorodishche*. Judging by the finds in the earliest layer of cultural deposits, they must have been built in the 8th-9th centuries. Pottery dating from between the 10th and the 12 centuries was found in the upper, richest cultural layer. "The upper layer has yielded considerably more finds than the lower. This shows that at the time life in the *gorodishche* was much more intense (particularly in the 11th-12th centuries)." Lyavdansky infers that it served as a fortified centre, a sort of Kremlin of the town of Polotsk, while the people lived below the Polota, near the Dvina, on the territory of Zapolotye, Verkhny and, possibly, Nizhny Zamok. He thinks that it was the *gorodishche* that was initially called the "old town" in 14th-century documents, and that Zapolotye became known by that name much later.[2]

Lyadvansky's excavations are extremely valuable, but one

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[1] *Zapiski addzelu gumanitarnykh navuk*, Book II, Pratsy archeolyogichnai kamissii, Vol. II, Minsk, 1930, p. 166.
[2] Ibid., pp. 172-73.

is struck by the vagueness of his concept of Polotsk's early history. In all the early towns we know the cathedral was close to the prince's palace. The present-day St. Sophia's Cathedral in Polotsk was built not later than the 12th century and very possibly in the 11th. It is unthinkable that it was erected outside the town walls, since cathedrals in Ancient Rus served as inner strongholds, libraries and treasuries.

The history of ancient Polotsk must, therefore, be somewhat different from what Lyavdansky suggests.

The initial walled settlement, as he believes, stood on the site of the *gorodishche* at a distance from the Western Dvina, and was situated on hills, like ancient Kiev, which overlooked the Dnieper. Somewhat later, approximately in the 10th century, people began to settle on the lowlying Zapolotye, or the "ancient town," which, like its Kiev counterpart, Podol, was inhabited by handicraftsmen. The fortifications had to be moved nearer to the Dvina, while a settlement with possibly a special prince's palace remained in the *gorodishche*. At all events, Polotsk sprang up as a town in the 8th-9th centuries, while its handicraft quarter began to grow in the 10th.

The rise of Vitebsk dates from about the same time. According to A.N. Lyavdansky, its *gorodishche* on the site of Verkhny Zamok emerged not later than in the 9th century. Besides, traces of 10th- and chiefly 11th-12th-century culture were found there. The site of Nizhny Zamok was likewise settled in the 9th-10th centuries.

It is noteworthy that Voronin, who studied the Suzdal Kremlin, arrived at similar conclusions. His excavations yielded quite a few interesting articles, including three cut *grivnas*, dating from the second half of the 10th and early 11th century. He says that "the excavations indicate that the territory of the Kremlin was settled in the late 9th and early 10th century." But the author has regrettably watered down his conclusions by saying that the articles discovered in the lower layer of the Suzdal Kremlin consisted of

a set of things typifying central Russian *gorodishches* between the 10th and 14th centuries.[1]

The archaeological picture in Pskov is somewhat different. N. N. Chernyagin's excavations of the Pskov Kremlin (Krom) revealed an intactness of its stratification and a number of consecutive cultural layers which begin with the 8th-9th centuries and end with the 12th and possibly the 13th. Pskov, therefore, sprang up earlier than Novgorod, which is quite probable, because the trade route along the Velikaya River dates back to a very early period. The earliest layers yielded a bone comb bearing a carved sailing vessel with a highly raised stern and bow.[2] The boat is of a type to be found in Ancient Rus miniatures. It adorned an article belonging to a warrior-merchant.

Recent excavations at Pskov prove that it was a big urban centre even in the 9th century. Tenth-century pavements and the remnants of an 8th- or 9th-century dwelling house were discovered in the Detinets.[3]

Extremely interesting observations of Pskov's origin and of its urban life were made by S. A. Tarakanova. Like many other towns Pskov stood on the site of an ancient settlement. "A study of the relics of ancient Pskov's material culture and particularly its earliest ramparts dates it, as a town, to the 8th century A. D.," declares Tarakanova. She noted that the 8th-10th-century layers of earth in the Pskov Kremlin yielded finds that were essentially different from those obtained from the 2nd-8th-century strata. This observation is highly valuable. Thus, moulded pottery, previously fashioned by hand, is replaced by pottery made on the potter's wheel. Progress was made in forging and casting. Semi-pit dwellings gave way to surface houses with wooden flooring, etc. These are indications of a transition to a new

[1] *Arkheologicheskiye issledovania v RSFSR, 1934-36,* Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, pp. 90-96.
[2] Ibid., pp. 28-32.
[3] С. А. Тараканова, *Раскопки древнего Пскова* (S. A. Tarakanova, *Excavations in Ancient Pskov*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK,* Vol. XXVII, 1949, pp. 104-12.

type of urban settlement—from the tribal settlement to the feudal town. "The activity of the blacksmiths is characterized by the miscellaneous iron articles found in the excavations, such as iron knives, fishing hooks, adzes, plough points, axes, planes, scythes, sickles, hammers, forged nails with heads, arrow-heads, cylindrical Slav locks, and keys, spikes for climbing trees, boat rivets, and so forth."[1] A Samanid dirhem (940-55) and a West-European coin (1068-90) indicate that Pskov was drawn into East-West trade as early as the 9th-10th centuries.

It began to grow in the 8th century and became an important urban centre by the 9th-10th centuries. That is when its *posad,* which has not yet been excavated, came into existence.

The excavations made in Gnezdovo by V. I. Sizov give us a rather comprehensive picture of ancient Smolensk. The large Gnezdovo burial ground is 10 kilometres west of Smolensk, on the right (northern) bank of the Dnieper. It neighbours on the *gorodishche,* which was apparently situated where the Svinka empties into the Dnieper.

The Gnezdovo-Smolensk relationship is of considerable interest to the scholar of early Russian towns. Although the existence of Smolensk in the 10th century is witnessed by the initial chronicle and by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the name Gnezdovo made its appearance only in the early 17th century. It is highly improbable that two big settlements existed in the Smolensk area at a distance of 10 kilometres apart. This prompts Sizov to declare the following: "I believe that in the earliest period, i.e., in the 9th-10th centuries, Gnezdovo was a *pogost** of Smolensk, and the centre of the local trading and industrial activities, while Smolensk remained a walled settlement, or fortress, and the seat of the ruler (a prince) who toured the countryside to

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[1] С. А. Тараканова, *О происхождении и времени возникновения Пскова* (S. A. Tarakanova, *Pskov's Origin and Date of Emergence*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XXXV, 1950, pp. 18-29.
* *Pogost*—parish.—*Tr.*

collect tribute or received tribute of goods from the surrounding villages. Smolensk had a small population which consisted only of officials and military men. That is why it left no marked traces of its activities in pagan times." Sizov believes that Gnezdovo was destroyed by drastic administrative action, because the population of that ancient *pogost* probably proved to be too stubborn in its paganism.[1] The population was crowded on the right bank of the Dnieper, south of the burial grounds, with the villages stretching in a long line. There was a *gorodishche* in the centre, "with its ramparts reinforced with masonry and, possibly, charred logs."[2] Unfortunately, Sizov failed to make a detailed study of the *gorodishche* and the remains of the settlements. He centred his attention on the tumuli, although to get a picture of what a 9th-10th-century Rus town was like it is important to have an idea of what Gnezdovo was.

Investigation of the Gnezdovo tumuli was continued with success by the Soviet archaeologist D. A. Avdusin, who also excavated the Gnezdovo *gorodishche*. He arrived at the conclusion that ancient Smolensk was not situated on the central Gnezdovo *gorodishche*, while the 9th-10th-century artifacts discovered on its territory were the relics of barrows destroyed in the construction of an episcopal citadel in the 17th century. However, the author undermines this resolute statement by remarking that Smolensk's original location has not yet been established.[3]

Yet this can be partially done by drawing a parallel with other Ancient Rus towns. First of all, we should apparently reject the idea that the initial Smolensk stood at Gnezdovo and had its centre at the Gnezdovo *gorodishche*, something

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[1] В. И. Сизов, *Курганы Смоленской губернии*, вып. 1. *Гнездовский могильник близ Смоленска* (V. I. Sizov, *The Barrows of Smolensk Province*, Issue 1. *The Gnezdovo Burial Ground Near Smolensk*), St. Petersburg, 1902, pp. 125-26.

[2] Ibid., p. 115.

[3] Д. А. Авдусин, *К вопросу о первоначальном месте Смоленска* (D. A. Avdusin, *Concerning Smolensk's Initial Location*), Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, No. 7, 1953, pp. 136-37.

I personally subscribed to in the first edition of this book. Like Kiev, Chernigov, Pskov and Polotsk, Smolensk stood on high ground. The Gnezdovo *gorodishche,* on the contrary, stands on low land and not on the very bank of the Dnieper. Even the Novgorod Kremlin was built on higher ground, although it stands on a plain verging on the Volkhov without any heights to speak of.

I think Sizov erred in presuming Gnezdovo to have been a trading and industrial *posad* of Smolensk. If so, it would have been an unprecedented case of a big settlement lying far away from the citadel whose walls usually sheltered unfortified *posads*. This is refuted by Sizov's own finds, particularly, the custom of interring warriors with women slaves. At Gnezdovo, men were cremated with women only in the rich barrows. The military element is so pronounced in the Gnezdovo relics that it could not have been accidental. Consider for a moment the discovery of a pot containing charred bones with a silver-hafted sword stuck into the ground on one side of it and a spear on the other.

The written sources prove that Gnezdovo was not the initial Smolensk. The legends of Boris and Gleb say that Gleb met his murderers at the mouth of the Smyadyn. He was sailing down the Dnieper, "and as he came to Smolensk and passed it, and was still in sight, he stopped his ship on the Smyadyn."[1] A similar version is given by the chronicle. It becomes clear then that early 11th-century Smolensk stood where it is today, above the Smyadyn, and not below it, as would have been the case if it had been at Gnezdovo. Gleb's little ship could be seen a long way from the town, as eye-witnesses must have reported. Consequently, Gnezdovo was a cemetery, and not a town. Smolensk was the town.

The truth of this will be tested by the spade. Meanwhile, the Gnezdovo barrows offer an opportunity of observing Ancient Rus urban life. The amazing number of rich burials

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[1] Д. И. Абрамович, *Жития св. мучеников Бориса и Глеба* (D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*), Petrograd, 1916, pp. 39, 70.

containing weapons leads us to presume that the higher orders were very powerful in 10th-century Smolensk. Sizov is quite right in stressing that there is nothing to prove Varangian predominance in Gnezdovo, although he notes obvious traces of Scandinavian interments. There is every indication that the bulk of Smolensk's population in the 10th century was made up of military men: the prince's *druzhina* and his servants.

The Gnezdovo handicraft industries, mostly iron- and earthenware, have their own features. The iron articles were locally made, and "the treatment of metal ornaments reveals a high level of technical skill."[1] In addition to blacksmiths, Gnezdovo had bronze- and silversmiths, and its pottery industry was of great importance.

It should be noted, however, that the excavations do not allow us to pass final judgement on the origin and composition of Smolensk's handicraft population in the 10th century. Possibly, there were more dependent craftsmen than free. Yet the abundance of iron artifacts and pottery at Gnezdovo—flints, knives, iron necklaces for *grivnas*, and so forth—leads us to presume that it had a substantial number of free craftsmen whose production went to satisfy not only the demands of the prince and his escort, but also a more extensive market. Other articles (particularly dirhems, and their pieces, as well as small scales with weights) indicate that 10th-century Smolensk was a thriving trading centre. "Arab and Central Asian dirhems and their pieces, which served as small change or weights, were Gnezdovo's only currency." Some of the artifacts yielded by the Gnezdovo barrows were brought from the East. Artifacts of Byzantine and Scandinavian origin were much scarcer.[2]

The Smolensk of the 9th-10-th centuries appears to have been a citadel with an incipient *posad* inhabited by traders and craftsmen. Thus, the ancient history of Kiev, Chernigov, Polotsk, Smolensk, Pskov and Novgorod is essen-

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[1] V. I. Sizov, *The Barrows of Smolensk Province*, Issue 1, p. 122.
[2] Ibid., p. 120.

tially alike. Simultaneous with an intensification of the feudal process in Ancient Rus in the 9th-10th centuries, these important Russian towns expanded and developed their handicrafts and trade.

2. EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN THE 11th-13th CENTURIES

Russian chronicles of the 11th-13th centuries mention a large number of towns. But only an incomplete list can be drawn up on the strength of written sources. Thus, many of the towns treated by Vladimir Monomakh as being very well known are barely mentioned in the chronicles. A detailed account of Svyatoslav Olegovich's northern campaign is another case showing the casualness and inadequacy of our data concerning Russian towns. It transpires that in the mid-12th century the land of the Vyatichi was not the wilderness it is usually made out to be. It was dotted with small towns some of which survived the Mongolian devastation while others disappeared without trace. Some future historian will compile a full list of Russian towns which existed in that period, but our purpose will be served by one that is approximate and general. The one I give here does not claim to be complete although I have taken cognizance of earlier works on Ancient Rus historical geography (Pogodin, Barsov, Nasonov, and others). Nor do I intend to establish the location of towns which have disappeared altogether. That must be done in a special research. I give the main sources I have used in compiling the list and the date a town is first mentioned by them or the date of its foundation.

It has been established that the following towns existed in the 11th century:

Berestye (1019),[1] Belz (1030),[2] Brody (late 11th century),[3] Buzhsk or Bozhesk (1097).[4]

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 141; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 101.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 146; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 105.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 257; *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 174 and 180.

Vzdvizhen or Zdvizhden (1097),[1] Vsevolozh (1097),[2] Voin (1055),[3] Vyr (late 11th century).[4]

Golotichesk (1071),[5] Gorodets near Kiev (1026),[6] Goroshin (late 11th century),[7] Gurgev or Yuryev (1095).[8]

Dorogobuzh (1084),[9] mentioned in the *Pravda of the Yaroslavichi* in connection with the 1068 uprising, Dryutesk, the modern Drutsk (1092),[10] Dubno or Duben (1100).[11]

Zhelan or Zhelyan (1093).[12]

Zarub (1096),[13] Zvenigorod of Cherven (1086 or 1087).[14]

Izyaslavl (early 11th century).[15]

Kursk (early 11th century), mentioned early in the 11th century in the *Pechera Paterik* as the birthplace of Feodosy of Pechera; the chronicles first mention it in 1095.[16]

Logozhsk (late 11th century), first mentioned in chronicles in 1127, but earlier in Vladimir Monomakh's *Precepts,*[17] Lubno or Luben (late 11th century),[18] Lutsk (1085).[19]

Mensk, Menesk, the modern Minsk (1067),[20] Mikulin (late 11th century).[21]

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 170; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 252.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 256; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 173.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 114; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 158.
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 241 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*); *Ipaty Annals*, p. 198, for 1113.
[5] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 170; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 122.
[6] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 145; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 104.
[7] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 159; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 221.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 199; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 144.
[10] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 208; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 150.
[11] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 264; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 180.
[12] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 154.
[13] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 161; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 223.
[14] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 199; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 144.
[15] See further in the text.
[16] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 221; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 160.
[17] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210.
[18] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 241 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[19] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 199; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 144.
[20] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 162; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 117.
[21] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 226, for 1144 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).

Nezhatin or Neyatin (1071),[1] Novgorod Svyatopolch (1095).[2]

Obrov (late 11th century),[3] Odrsk (late 11th century),[4] Oleshye (1084) in the mouth of the Dnieper, was also regarded as a Russian town,[5] Ostrog (1100).[6]

Perevoloka (1092),[7] Peremil (1097),[8] Pesochen or Posechen (1092),[9] Pinsk (1097),[10] Priluk (1092).[11]

Rimov (late 11th century),[12] Romen (late 11th century),[13] Rostovets (1071),[14] Rsha, the modern Orsha (1067),[15] Ryazan (1096).[16]

Sakov (1095),[17] Svyatoslavl (late 11th century),[18] Snovsk (1068),[19] Starodub Seversky (1096),[20] Suteisk (1097).[21]

Terebovl (1097),[22] Torchesk (1093),[23] Tripol (1093),[24]

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 169; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 122.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 221; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 160.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[5] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 199; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 144.
[6] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 264; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 180.
[7] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 208.
[8] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 256.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 208; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 150.
[10] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 249; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 168.
[11] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 208; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 150.
[12] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 240 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[13] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 241.
[14] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 169; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 122 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[15] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 117; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 163.
[16] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 223 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[17] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 221; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 181.
[18] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 240 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[19] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 167; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 121.
[20] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 222; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 160.
[21] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 178; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 238 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[22] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 247; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 167.
[23] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 211; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 152.
[24] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 212; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 153.

Turiisk (1097).[1] Tmutarakan is first mentioned in 1022, but existed earlier, being one of the towns Vladimir Svyatoslavich gave to his sons, consequently, prior to 1015.[2]

Uvetichi (1100),[3] Ustye (1096).[4]

Khalep (late 11th century).[5]

Chertoriisk (1100).[6]

Shepol (1097).[7]

Yuryev in Estonia (1030).[8]

Yaroslavl (1071).[9]*

A number of towns which emerged not later than the 11th century but which appear rather late in the chronicles should be added to the 58 listed above. Prominent among them is Vitebsk which is mentioned in the *Moscow Annals* for 1021: "And (Yaroslav) summoned Bryachislav from there and gave him two towns: Vosvyach and Vidbesk."[10] The same source, as we can see, also mentions the town of Vosvyach or Usvyat, which, consequently, was likewise in existence in the 11th century.

Toropets is another town which is given late mention in the chronicles but is proved to have existed earlier by the *Pechera Paterik*, which says that Isaaky Zatvornik (the Hermit) was a Toropets merchant who entered the Pechera cloister in the lifetime of Antony, i.e., in the first half of the 11th century.[11]

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 258; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 175.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 83 and 103.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 180; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 263.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 161; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 223.
[5] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 240 (mentioned in the *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh*).
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 180; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 264.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 173; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 256.
[8] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 146; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 105.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 170.
[10] *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisei* (PSRL), Vol. XXV, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, p. 374.
* The list is compiled in the order of the Russian alphabet.—*Tr.*
[11] *Paterik of the Kiev Pechera Monastery* (*Pechera Paterik*), published by the Archaeographic Commission, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 128.

Izyaslavl and Vladimir-on-Klyazma (in Zalessk Land) are also 11th-century towns. Izyaslavl, later known as Zaslavl, is first mentioned in 1127, but the chronicle says that it was built by Vladimir Svyatoslavich for his son Izyaslav by Rogneda.[1] The old controversy about who is to be credited with the founding of Vladimir-on-Klyazma—Vladimir Svyatoslavich or Vladimir Monomakh—can be settled in principle by the fact that it was built in the 11th century, since both lived in that period.

Vladimir Volynsky must have arisen not later than in the early 11th century because, the chronicle says, Vladimir Svyatoslavich appointed his son Vsevolod to rule it and because at the time there could not have been a special principality for Vladimir-on-Klyazma. The former is first mentioned by the chronicle in 1044. Volyn is found in the item for 1018, but it appeared much earlier, and is probably one of the most ancient in the Rus towns.[2]

Thus, six more towns (Vitebsk, Usvyat, Toropets, Vladimir Volynsky, Volyn and Vladimir-on-Klyazma) are added to the above list. We have 64 new towns for the 11th century, which with those earlier mentioned brings the total to 89 (or close to a hundred).

We find the greatest number of towns in 12th-century sources:

Baroch or Baruch (1125),[3] Bezhitsi or Bezhitsky Verkh (1196),[4] it is first called Verkh in 1196, and as Bezhitsky Verkh only in 1245, Berezy (1152),[5] Bleve (1147),[6] Bogolyubovo (before 1175),[7] Boguslavl (1195),[8] Boldyzh (1146),[9]

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 285.
[2] "He arrived at Volyn and camped on either side of the Bug River" (*Lavrenty Annals*, p. 139). What is meant here is of course the town and not the region.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 280; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 208, for 1126.
[4] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 43.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 314.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 242.
[7] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 348.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 459.
[9] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 238. But the chronicle does not make clear

Bolokhov (1150),[1] Borisov (1127),[2] Borisov-Glebov (1180),[3] Bokhmach (1147),[4] Bran or Bron (1125),[5] Bryagin (1147),[6] Bryansk or Debryansk (1146),[7] Bulich (1162).[8]

Vasilev Smolensky (1165),[9] Vernev (1151),[10] Vizna (1145),[11] Volodarev (1150),[12] Volok Lamsky (1135), it is called Volok in the note for that year, and Lamsky Volok only in 1178,[13] Vorobiin (1147),[14] Voronazh or Voronezh (1177),[15] Vorotynsk (1155),[16] Vsevolozh Chernigovsky (1147),[17] Vshchizh (1142),[18] Vygoshev (1152),[19] Vyakhau or Byakhan (1147).[20]

Galich (1138),[21] Glebl (1147),[22] Glukhov (1152),[23] Gnoinitsa (1152),[24] Gomy (1142),[25] Goroden Volynsky (1183),[26] Gorodets or Gorodok on the Oster (1135),[27] Gorodets Radilov on the Volga (1172).[28]

whether a town or a forest is meant in this case: "After they had passed the forest of the Boldyzh."
[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 278.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 283; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210, for 1128.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 368.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 252.
[5] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 280.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 253.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 239.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 354.
[9] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 359.
[10] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 300.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 227.
[12] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 278.
[13] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 287.
[14] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 242.
[15] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 410.
[16] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 329.
[17] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 252.
[18] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 223.
[19] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 313.
[20] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 251.
[21] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 290 (the chronicle mentions the Galich folk). *Ipaty Annals*, p. 218, for 1140.
[22] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 252.
[23] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 320.
[24] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 313.
[25] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 223.
[26] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 428.
[27] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 287.
[28] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 345.

Dveren (1192),[1] Dernovoi (1146),[2] Devyagorsk (1147),[3] Dedoslavl (1146),[4] Dmitrov (1154),[5] Dmitrov Kievsky (1183),[6] Domagoshch (1147),[7] Dorogichin (1142).[8]

Zheldi or Zheldya, or yet Zhelny according to the Troitsk transcript (1116).[9]

Zarechesk (1106),[10] Zaroi (1154),[11] Zaryty (1160),[12] Zvenigorod Kievsky (1150).[13]

Kanev (1149),[14] Karachev (1146),[15] Klechesk (1127),[16] Kozelsk (1154),[17] Kolomna (1177),[18] Koponov (1187),[19] Kopys (1116),[20] Korechsk or Korchesk (1150),[21] Korsun-on-Ros (1169),[22] Kotelnich (1143),[23] Krasny or Krasn (1165),[24] Ksnyatin (1148),[25] Kuchelmin (1159).[26]

Lobynsk (1146),[27] Luki Velikiye (1166),[28] Lukoml (1178),[29] Lutava (1155),[30] Luchin (1173).[31]

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 453.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 230.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 242.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 239.
[5] *PSRL*, Vol. XXV, p. 58.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 424.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 242.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 222.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 276; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 203.
[10] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 270; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 186.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 328.
[12] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 348.
[13] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 278.
[14] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 306.
[15] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 298.
[16] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 283; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210, for 1128.
[17] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 324.
[18] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 363.
[19] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 385.
[20] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 203.
[21] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 276; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 319, for 1151.
[22] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 339; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 379.
[23] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 224.
[24] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 359.
[25] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 260.
[26] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 341.
[27] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 240.
[28] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 32; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 362, for 1168.
[29] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 415.
[30] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 331.
[31] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 386

Malotin (1139),[1] Mezhibozhye (1146),[2] Mezhimostye (1170),[3] Milesk (1150),[4] Michsk (1150),[5] Mikhailov (1172),[6] Mozyr (1155),[7] Moroviisk (1139),[8] Moravitsa or Muravitsa (1149),[9] Moscow (1147),[10] Mstislavl (1156),[11] Munarev (1150),[12] Mchenesk (1147),[13] Mylsk (1150).[14]

Nebl (1158), the chronicle gives the volost of that name, the town itself being mentioned only in 1262,[15] Nekoloch (1127),[16] Nerinsk (1147),[17] Novgorod Seversky (1141),[18] Nosov (1148).[19]

Oblov (1159),[20] Orgoshch (1159),[21] Ormina (1142).[22]

Persopnitsa (1149),[23] Peresechna (1154),[24] Pereyaslavl Zalessky (1152),[25] Pesochen (1172),[26] Piryatin (1154),[27] Polkosten (1125),[28] Polonoi (1169),[29] Poltesk among the

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 292; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 220, for 1140.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 234.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 372.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 285.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 286.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 376.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 331.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 216.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 307; *Ipaty Annals*, 271.
[10] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 240.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 334.
[12] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 278.
[13] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 242.
[14] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 312.
[15] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 338, 566.
[16] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 283; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 211, for 1128.
[17] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 241.
[18] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 221.
[19] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 303.
[20] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 344.
[21] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 343.
[22] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 223.
[23] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 306.
[24] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 325.
[25] *PSRL*, Vol. XXV, p. 56.
[26] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 379.
[27] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 325.
[28] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 281.
[29] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 340.

Vyatichi (1146),[1] Popash (1147),[2] Presnensk or Plesnesk (1188),[3] Pronsk (1186),[4] Putivl (1146).[5]

Radoshch (1155),[6] Rogachov (1142),[7] Rogov (1194),[8] Ropesk (1159),[9] Rylsk (1152).[10]

Sapogyn (1151),[11] Svirilsk (1177),[12] Sevsk (1146),[13] Semyn or Semych (1152),[14] Sluchesk or Slutsk (1116),[15] Spash (1152),[16] Strezhev (1127).[17]

Tikhoml (1152),[18] Tismyanitsa (1144),[19] Tovarov (1190),[20] Torzhok or Novy Torg (1139),[21] Trubetsk or Trubchevsk (1185),[22] Tumashch (1150).[23]

Udech (1164),[24] Uglich or Ugleche Polye (1149),[25] Unenezh (1147),[26] Ustilog (1150),[27] Ushesk (1150),[28] Ushitsa (1144).[29]

Khorobor (1153).[30]

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 239.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 251.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 445.
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 380.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 234.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 328.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 223.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 456.
[9] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 344.
[10] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 316.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 305.
[12] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 408.
[13] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 238.
[14] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 321.
[15] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 203.
[16] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 314.
[17] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 283.
[18] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 313.
[19] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 226.
[20] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 452.
[21] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 25.
[22] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 430; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 376, for 1186.
[23] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 279.
[24] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 358.
[25] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 304.
[26] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 252.
[27] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 283.
[28] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 276.
[29] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 226.
[30] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 320.

Chemerin (1149),[1] Chernesk or Chernchesk (1142),[2] Chernobyl (1193),[3] Chichersk (1159),[4] Chyurnayev (1190).[5]

Shumsk (1149).[6]

Yaropolch (1160),[7] Yaryshev (1148).[8]

Yuryev Polsky (1177).[9]

The 134 towns listed above appear in 12th-century records. This list is obviously incomplete. Besides, it may include localities that were villages rather than towns. Such errors are inevitable until historical, geographical and archaeological studies are made complete. Some of these towns undoubtedly emerged much earlier. Thus, Staraya Russa is not mentioned before 1167,[10] but is surely one of the most ancient Russian towns. It brings the total of 12th-century Rus towns to 135, and with those listed earlier we have 224 urban centres which unquestionably existed in Rus by the end of the 12th century. I believe that this figure has been minimized rather than exaggerated.

Several towns are mentioned in Prince Rostislav Mstislavich's charter deed granted to the Smolensk bishopric in 1150. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether some of these localities are towns or *pogosts*. That is why we should approach the testimony of the charter deed with great circumspection, although it does draw a distinct line between some towns and *pogosts*. Thus, 9 *pogosts* are mentioned as comprising the "Great Verzhavlyane." Later on the town of Verzhavsk is named as the centre of a sizable rural area consisting of 9 *pogosts*.[11]

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 306.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 294.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 455.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 341.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 450.
[6] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 306.
[7] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 346.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 263.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 362.
[10] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 32.
[11] See *Addenda to Historical Acts*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 5-8.

Happily, the charter deed gives a short "roll of towns" establishing the revenues collected from each. This reveals the number of Smolensk towns in the 12th century. Apart from Smolensk and Toropets, well known from other sources, there were 11 towns in all: Mstislavl, Krupl, Verzhavsk, Kopys, Potsin or Patsin, Luchin, Postislavl Yelna, Izyaslavl, Zhizhets and Dorogobuzh.

A considerable number of settlements is also listed in Svyatoslav Olegovich's 1137 *Statutes*,[1] another 12th-century document, but we cannot be sure whether these were towns or *pogosts*. Much later, at the end of the 14th century, only a few towns were known to exist in the north. It is improbable that there were many more towns in the 12th century than there were two centuries later. Almost all the settlements "in the Onega," i.e., in the basin of the Onega River, and to the east of it, are classified as *pogosts* in the *Statutes*. Small fortified towns may have existed there, but we have no way of distinguishing between an unfortified *pogost* and a small town. That is why the 1137 *Statutes* add little to our knowledge of Russian towns along the Onega and to the east of it. Olonets alone should be singled out from among the settlements mentioned by the *Statutes* as existing in the Obonezhsky Row.[2] It appears in the chronicle for 1228, but, as we have seen, emerged much earlier. Gorodetsk, which stood where we now have the present-day town of Bezhetsk, may have been a town. It was a part of Bezhitsky Row, which may have included other towns named in the *Statutes*, such as Bezhichi, Zmen, Yezsk and Rybansk,[3] but in remains for the spade to prove this. So far this has been done to some extent only in respect of a set-

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[1] М. Н. Тихомиров, М. В. Щепкина, *Два памятника Новгородской письменности* (M. N. Tikhomirov, M. V. Shchepkina, *Two Memorials of Novgorod Writings*), Moscow, 1952, pp. 20-21.

[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 65.

[3] Their location is discussed in А. Н. Насонов, «*Русская земля» и образование территории Древнерусского государства* (A. N. Nasonov, *"The Russian Land" and the Shaping of the Territory of Ancient Rus*), Moscow, 1951, p. 91.

tlement which the *Statutes* call Zmen and which is identi-
fied with Uzmen in the Bezhetsk area. We find it as a
pogost at the close of the 19th century with a number of
big and small barrows but without a trace of fortification.
It is only Olonets and Gorodetsk, therefore, that can be
regarded as towns among the populated localities named
in the 1137 *Statutes*.

Voronezh (or Voronazh) must also have existed as early
as 1177, for the *Ipaty Annals* treat it as a town: "He went
to Voronazh (or: to Voronyazh)."

The following towns are named in our sources for the
13th century (up to 1237):

Belgorod Ryazansky (1208),[1] Bykoven (1211).[2]

Vasilev Galitsky (1229),[3] Vereshchin (1204).[4]

Gertsiké (1203),[5] Gorodok Volynsky (1213),[6] Gorodishche
on the Sara (1216),[7] Gorokhovets (1239),[8] it is called a
town of The Mother of God, that is, belonging to the Ca-
thedral of the Assumption in Vladimir, which probably re-
ceived it from Andrei Bogolyubsky back in the 12th cen-
tury.

Dobry (1207).[9]

Zbarazh or Zbyrazh (1211),[10] Zopishch (1211),[11] Zubtsov
(1216).[12]

Izyaslavl Galitsky (1240).[13]

Kamenets (1196),[14] Kolodyazhen (1240),[15] Kolomiya

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 413.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 488.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 508.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 483.
[5] Heinrich of Latvia, *A Chronicle of Livonia*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1938, p. 85.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 490.
[7] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 468.
[8] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 446.
[9] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 411.
[10] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 488.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 489.
[12] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 55.
[13] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 523.
[14] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 468.
[15] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 523.

(1240),[1] Komov (1204),[2] Kostroma (1214),[3] Kremenets (1226),[4] Kukenois (1205).[5]

Lyubachev (1211),[6] Lyubno (1229).[7]

Moklekov Galitsky (1211),[8] Moreva (1230).[9]

Nerekhta (1214),[10] Novgorodok Litovsky (1212),[11] Novgorod Nizhny (founded in 1221).[12]

Ozhsk (1207),[13] Olonets (1228),[14] Olgov (1207),[15] Onut (1213),[16] Orelsk (1204).[17]

Plav (1213).[18]

Sereger (1230),[19] Sol Velikaya (1214),[20] Sosnitsa (1234),[21] Starodub Ryapolovsky (1218),[22] Stolpye (1204).[23]

Rzhevka or Rzhev (1216).[24]

Tver (1209),[25] Tolmach (1213),[26] Torchev (1231).[27]

Ugrovesk (1204), [28] Ustyug (1218), [29]

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 525.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 483.
[3] *The Chronicler of Pereyaslavl Zalessky* (*Vremennik obshchestva istorii i drevnostei Rossiiskikh*, 1851, Book 9, p. 111).
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 500.
[5] *A Chronicle of Livonia*, p. 92.
[6] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 489.
[7] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 485.
[8] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 488.
[9] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 68.
[10] *The Chronicler of Pereyaslavl Zalessky*, p. 111.
[11] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 489.
[12] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 423.
[13] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 410.
[14] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 65.
[15] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 410.
[16] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 491.
[17] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 482.
[18] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 491.
[19] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 68.
[20] *The Chronicler of Pereyaslavl Zalessky*, p. 111.
[21] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 514.
[22] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 420.
[23] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 483.
[24] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 55.
[25] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 413.
[26] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 491.
[27] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 511.
[28] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 483.
[29] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 476.

Kholm (1223).[1]

Shchekarev (1219).[2]

Yaroslavl Galitsky (1231).[3]

According to these data, which are also incomplete, the new towns number 47, which with the 224 named above brings the total to 271. Actually, their number was much greater. This list, for example, does not include towns which for some reason are not mentioned in the records. Kashin is one of them. It appears in the annals for 1287, after the Mongolian invasion, but must surely have existed in the early 13th century.

Some towns declined shortly after their inception and disappeared without trace, giving rise to discussions even about their site. Many more were razed to the ground in the Mongolian devastation.

Mozhaisk, which probably existed much earlier, is first mentioned in 1293.

The same applies to a number of towns in Galich-Volyn Rus which found their way into the annals after the Mongolian invasion. Thus, there is mention in 1245 of Andreyev, "near" which the Poles are reported to have fought.[4] The item for 1240 mentions Bakota, which was reportedly the centre of Ponizye.[5] The chronology of the *Ipaty Annals* is extremely inaccurate, and it is improbable that Bakota sprang up the year Kiev was sacked by the Tatars. There is reason to believe that it originated earlier. The same is true of Volkoviisk which is first mentioned in 1252,[6] and Slonim or Voslonim first named in 1255.[7]

It appears, therefore, that there were close to 300 towns in Rus on the eve of the Mongolian invasion.

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 494.
[2] Ibid., p. 492.
[3] Ibid., p. 510.
[4] Ibid., p. 529.
[5] Ibid., p. 525.
[6] Ibid., p. 542.
[7] Ibid., p. 551.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF SUBURBS, OR POSADS

With time the towns in Rus became bigger and more numerous. The earliest of them were confined to their territory proper, or the citadel, around which separate settlements sprang up and eventually merged into suburbs, or *posads*.

The bulk of the population lived near the walls of the citadel which was usually situated on a hill at some distance from the river. The choice of site for a citadel was dictated by military considerations, but the development of the handicrafts and trade inevitably drew the artisans and the merchants from the hills to the lowland—from the *gora* to the *podol*. The latter became the usual name for urban riverside districts as opposed to the aristocratic *gora*. Chernigov's Podoliye lay at the foot of Yeletsk Monastery near a place called Gostynichi. A road, called the *gostinets*,* linked it with Pereyaslavl, while there was a landing-place on the left bank of the Desna, some three versts from the monastery.[1] Novgorod had its own Podoliye, or Podol, which was the town's lowlying riverside quarter. The Moscow Podol was the territory at the foot of the Kremlin Hill. There was also a Podol in Vladimir-on-Klyazma.

The appearance of urban *posads* was a milestone in the history of Russian towns. This development is not traced above the late 10th century. Thus, when the chronicler reports about the siege of 10th-century towns, he says nothing of the firing of their *posads*, a fact which is often mentioned much later. Iskorosten, razed by Olga, and Vruchy, or Ovruch, the seat of Oleg Svyatoslavich, are described as towns without *posads*. The walls of Vruchy were surrounded by a moat with a bridge across

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* *Gostynichi* and *gostinets* are derivatives of *gost*—guest, merchant.—*Tr.*

[1] П. В. Голубовский, *Историческая карта Черниговской губернии до 1300 года*. (P. V. Golubovsky, *A Historical Map of Chernigov Province up to 1300*). *Trudy XIII Arkheologicheskogo Syezda v Ekaterinoslave v 1905 g.*), Vol. II, Moscow, 1908.

it into which Oleg fell in his flight. There is nothing to show that a *posad* girdled the castle.

The Russian towns of the 9th-10th centuries were confined to the precincts of their small citadels, the *detintsi*. The town as a centre in which not only the prince's servitors but also merchants and craftsmen lived was just beginning to take shape. Many new towns sprang up under the shelter of the princes' strongholds, a process similar to the one Henri Pirenne observed in medieval Flanders. According to him, "the first urban settlements were, in the full sense of the word, colonies of merchants and artisans, and urban institutions arose among strangers who flocked from every side." Towns usually "arose near the walls of some monastery, castle or episcopal residence."[1] This is largely true for Rus. It should be pointed out that the central fortified part of the earliest Russian towns was known as the *detinets,* a derivative of *detsky,*[*] a prince's man-at-arms. The keep got its name from the *detsky,* its garrison, just like the *Detin Palace* in later-day monasterial demesnes was named after the *detyonyshi*.

As the handicraftsmen and merchants settled beyond the walls of the citadel, two urban worlds—the royal and the free (merchants and craftsmen)—arose side by side. This co-existence of two worlds is best illustrated by Kiev. Gora and Podol are two of its quarters clearly distinguished in the annals. Happily, we are able to date more or less precisely the emergence of Podol. Reporting on the vengeance Olga took on the Drevlyane, the chronicler says: "At that time, the waters ran by Kiev Hill, and people did not live in Podol, but on the hill."[2]

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[1] H. Pirenne, *Medieval Towns of Belgium,* Moscow, 1937, p. 179.

[*] *Detsky,* a derivative of *det* which is etymologically a form of *doiti*—to suckle, foster; the modern *deti* means children.—*Tr.*

[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years,* Part 1, p. 40. For the date of this report, see М. Н. Тихомиров, *Исследование о Русской Правде* (M. N. Tikhomirov, *Studies of Russkaya Pravda*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, pp. 64-66. The *gorod* in Kiev stood on a hill. It was a fortified place. The term *gorod* "to go to the *gorod*" was used in Moscow before the Revolution to denote that one was going to Kitai-Gorod.

The archaeological finds which clash with the chronicle's report that Podol was settled at a late date are not at variance with the notion that it emerged as a suburb, or *posad*, at the end of the 10th century, because separate settlements had existed on the site long before Kiev itself was founded.

Judging by archaeological data, Kiev's Podol arose as a trading and handicraft centre in the 9th century, possibly at the end of that century. Its emergence is closely connected with the development of the handicrafts and a market-place in Kiev. It became a centre for its merchants and artisans, who often rose up in arms against the Gora, the *gorod* in the full sense of the word. Thus, a new district inhabited by craftsmen and merchants, arose side by side with the Detinets where the prince's servitors and dependents lived.

Reports about Novgorod's Podol appear in the chronicle very late and its beginnings are highly hypothetical.[1] The Podol in Novgorod was the part of the town lying in Torgovaya Storona, on the bank of the Volkhov adjacent to the market-place. The site is established by its proximity to Pyatnitsa Church which stood in Yaroslav's bailey near Ilya's Street in Slavno.[2] Thus, the topography of Novgorod's Podol was similar to that of Kiev's. It lay in a depression by the river very near the market-place in Torgovaya Storona. It appears to have arisen in about the first half of the 11th century, a fact supported by the name traditionally ascribed to Yaroslav's bailey built in that low part of Novgorod where Podol is situated.

[1] В. С. Передольский, *Новгородские древности* (V. S. Peredolsky, *Novgorod Antiquities*), Novgorod 1898, p. 307; he erroneously connects the report of the fire in Kiev's Podol in 1069 with Novgorod. By Podol in Novgorod he meant three neighbourhoods on the banks of the Volkhov (in Slavno, Lyudin End and Plotnitsky), a presumption not warranted by the facts in the chronicle.

[2] "Podol was burnt up to Goroncharsky End" (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 366).

The Novgorod landing-places were in Podol. They were called *vymols* and were not merely spits or sandbanks but actual landing-stages, as is witnessed by the names of the *vymols* in Novgorod. Yaroslav's charter on pavements compiled in the late 12th or early 13th century, gives the following names of the *vymols* in Torgovaya Storona: the Nemetsky* *vymol*, the *vymol* of Ivan (Yevan), of Alferd, of Budyata, and of Matfei. Paved roadways linked them with Veliky Row in the market square. The landing-stages were also paved, and it was specified who was to pave the sections named after their owners: the Nemetsky after the German counter, Ivan *vymol* after the merchant guild or the Ivanskoye *Sto*** while Budyata and Matfei *vymols* were named after the first names of Budyata and Matfei. The earliest transcript of the charter, drawn up in the 14th century, calls Alferd's or Aferd's *vymol* as Gerald's *vymol* ("the Goths, up to Gerald's back *vymol*, from Verald's *vymol* to Butyata's *vymol*").[1] It is quite possible that Gerald's *vymol* later known after the name of a certain Alfred, is connected with the 11th-century Harald, a famed knight of Yelizaveta, a daughter of Yaroslav the Wise. These observations coincide with archaeological investigations on the site of Yaroslav's bailey which led to the discovery of a 10th-century pagan burial ground. It becomes clear then that Yaroslav's bailey was not yet populated at the time in question.[2] Consequently, Novgorod's Podol became a handicraft and trading settlement in its eastern district, or Torgovaya Storona, from about the 10th century.

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* *Nemets*—German.—*Tr.*

** *Sto*—hundred.—*Tr.*

[1] *Русские достопамятности* (*Russian Antiquities*), published by the Russian History and Antiquities Society, Part 2, Moscow, 1843, p. 293.

[2] А. А. Строков и др., *Раскопки на Ярославовом дворище* (Strokov and others, *Excavations of Yaroslav's Bailey*), *Novgorodsky istorichesky sbornik*, Issues 3-4, Novgorod, 1938, p. 202.

If our history of the *posads* in Kiev and Novgorod is correct, their emergence in Rus can be rather precisely dated because there is no reason to suppose that they developed in other Russian towns earlier than in Kiev and Novgorod. Urban *posads* began to spring up approximately in the 9th century, in Kiev earlier than elsewhere. In most Russian towns they appeared in the 11th century.

I believe that the new terms *gorozhanin, grazhdanin* or *grazhanin,** meaning citizen, became current at just that time. The Belgorod folk are called *gorozhane* by the chronicler as early as 997.[1] Later this term came into common use to distinguish town folk from villagers.

The rapid growth of *posads* naturally makes the researcher wish to know where their population came from. Some of it was accounted for by the increment of the population in the citadels, or *detintsi,* but this explains neither the impetuous growth of the *posads,* nor the emergence of new towns in the 11th century. The influx of people into urban centres must naturally have also accounted for the growth of the towns. Who were these people?

It is quite likely that the urban population grew steadily through the influx of people mostly from the countryside and fugitive *kholops.*** An attempt was made by A. I. Yakovlev to use the toponymy of Ancient Rus to prove that fugitive *kholops* settled in the towns. Unfortunately, his attempt should be regarded not only as a complete failure but also as derogatory to the use of toponymy for historical purposes. His comparison of the name of the town *Gomy* with the word *kholop* looks more like a satire on home-grown linguists rather than a scientific excursus.[2] Generally speaking, the fact that

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* *Gorod, grad, gorozh-grazhd-grazh-* are phonetical variants of the same root denoting town.—*Tr.*

[1] *Lavrenty Annals,* p. 125.

** *Kholops*—indentured people.

[2] А. И. Яковлев, *Холопство и холопы в Московском государстве XVII в.* (A. I. Yakovlev, *Kholops in 17th-Century Muscovy*), Vol. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1943, pp. 299-308.

fugitive *kholops* settled in towns could scarcely have been reflected in the names of the towns to any appreciable degree.

What is much more indicative is the existence in ancient towns of such names as Kholopya Street in Novgorod, or the mention of *izgoys* who lived in that town, and so forth. It would be imprudent, however, to draw any general conclusions before the ancient names of streets have been adequately studied. But there are other, more reliable indications of the influx of villagers and fugitive slaves into ancient Russian towns. The *Pechera Paterik*, for instance, lists among the brethren of the cloister a certain Spiridon "who entered the monastery from a village and not from a town." It notes that he was ignorant "in word, but not in reason."[1] The story of the building of the Georgy Church over the gate of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev reveals the presence of people among the urban population who are prepared to hire out as journeymen. Work was progressing slowly and "seeing this the prince summoned his *tiun* and said: 'Why are so few working on the church?' The *tiun* replied: 'My lord, since the work has been undertaken by the authorities, the people fear that they will be deprived of their wages when they finish the work.' "[2] It is to be inferred that the people were afraid of not being paid for their work on the prince's project, for "many came to work" as soon as a *nogata* was paid per diem. The people mentioned here are not the prince's dependent craftsmen, neither are they free handicraftsmen or merchants. They were most probably newcomers who had not yet settled down and were willing to take any job.

The well-known testimony of Thietmar of Merseburg, who died in 1018, tells of a great influx of fugitive slaves

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 120.

[2] *Памятники древнерусской церковно-учительной литературы* (*Memorials of Ancient Rus Ecclesiastical and Sermonizing Literature*), edited by A. I. Ponomaryov, Issue 2, St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 58-59.

into Kiev: "This big town, which is the capital of that state, has more than 400 churches and eight market-places. The size of its population is unknown and in-cludes, like that of the surrounding region, fugitive slaves from all parts, particularly from among the Danes who until now had resisted the Pechenegs and had vanquished others."[1] This testimony merits attention but it should not be taken literally because villagers may have settled in the towns side by side with the fugitive slaves.

Russkaya Pravda mentions *kholops* who settled in town to take up the handicrafts or engage in trade. It contains provisions with regard to *kholops* who embezzled money or goods, or sought refuge in towns. In the latter case, the *posadnik* had to help the slave-owner by detailing his men for the search. The *Prostrannaya* (*Extensive*) *Pravda* gives a vivid picture of the search for a thief, in this case a *kholop*, on the strength of testimony by the *kholop* him-self.[2] The *Drevneishaya* (*Earliest*) *Pravda* establishes the procedure of "confrontation" in the search for fugitive *kholops*. It also has an article on *kholops* (*chelyad*) in hiding among Varangians or Kolbangians. The practical nature of this "confrontation" becomes evident from an account inscribed on a birch-bark scroll discovered in the 1954 excavations in Novgorod.

Russkaya Pravda also proves that fugitive *kholops* helped to increase the urban population. They were prob-ably not only *kholops* in the narrow sense of the word but also bondmen in general, including enslaved *smerds*. The *Statutes* of Vladimir Monomakh, inserted in the *Ex-*

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[1] "In magna hac civitate, que istius regni caput est, plus quam qua-dringente habentur ecclesiae et mercatus 8, populi autem ignota manus, quae sicut omnis haec provincia ex fugitivorum robore servorum huc undique confluencium, et maxime ex velocibus Danis, multum se no-centibus Pecinegis hactenus, resistebat et alios vincebat (q. v. В. И. Ла-манский, *Славянскге житие св. Кирилла* (V. I. Lamansky, *The Slav Hagiography of St. Kirill*), Petrograd, 1915, pp. 49-50.

[2] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, edited by B. D. Grekov, Moscow-Lenin-grad, 1940, pp. 454-57.

tensive Russkaya Pravda, draw a line of distinction between the *kholop* and the *zakup*. The latter could become an *obel*, or full *kholop*, but was not a *kholop* as yet. He could even flee from persecution by his master, but at the same time the *Statutes* provide for the escape of a *zakup* and, as punishment for that, his conversion into a *kholop*.[1] Whatever the status of a *zakup*, he was, under all conditions, an enslaved peasant, a kind of serf. Thus, the *Russkaya Pravda* gives direct evidence of the flight of people from the countryside.

From the chronicle it is evident that the inhabitants of some towns were named after their former state of dependence. The Novgorod folk, for example, were called carpenters with a derogatory connotation ("ye are carpenters and we shall put you to building our houses").[2] Still more typical is the name of "stone-masons" given by the people of Rostov to their rivals, the citizens of Vladimir: "They are our *kholop* stone-masons."[3] The latter were dubbed *kholops* because the Rostov folk regarded them as the descendants of the prince's bondmen-stonemasons.

These names reflect the fact that the *posads* in Novgorod and Vladimir were initially settlements of diverse bondmen, among whom carpenters and stone-masons predominated. It would appear that the story of how Kholop Town was founded on the Mologa River by fugitive *kholops* from Novgorod has a similar basis although it bears traces of later elaboration.[4]

The steady influx of people into the towns was kept up by the privileges usually extended by the princes to settlers. In 991, Vladimir Svyatoslavich, for instance, "founded

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, pp. 110-11.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 138.
[3] Ibid., p. 355.
[4] Ф. Гиляров, *Предания русской Начальной летописи* (F. Gilyarov, *Legends in the Russian Initial Chronicle*), Moscow, 1878, p. 32, et seq. The town is described by Gerberstein (16th century) and Kamenevich-Rvovsky (late 17th century).

the town of Belgorod, and 'gathered' many people from other towns and led them to this one because he loved this town."[1] This is an indication that he not only brought people from other towns but also created some kind of privileges for Belgorod, the prince's favourite city.

There is data showing that a part of the urban population was made up of former prisoners of war. Yaroslav the Wise settled Polish prisoners on the Ros where he began to build small towns in 1032.[2]

The *Ipaty Annals* for 1259 describe the settlement of the town of Kholm. In his efforts to settle the town, Daniil "...invited Germans and Rus, foreigners and Poles; day by day they came, young men and artisans of every kind who escaped from the Tatars, saddle-makers, and archers, and quiver-makers, and blacksmiths, and copper-smiths, and silversmiths."[3] Was this an innovation introduced by Daniil or a general policy of the princes with regard to towns? We find similar trends elsewhere. Polish King Boleslaus I made efforts to attract settlers to his towns. "There the peasants oppressed by their masters got instruction and satisfaction."[4]

The towns were becoming a world apart, offering privileges without which the handicrafts and trade could not have flourished. A new town, the *posad*, was taking shape under the protection of the sturdy walls of the princes' citadels.

As we have seen, the suburbs, or *posads*, began to cluster around Ancient Rus towns at a definite period, namely, in the 9th-10th centuries. Later, these *posads* became an integral part of any sizable town. This was not fortuitous and applied in general to all Russian towns in whose history the period between the 9th and 11th cen-

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 119.
[2] Ibid., p. 146.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 558.
[4] *Русский исторический сборник* (*Russian Historical Collection*), Vol. IV, Books 2 & 3, Moscow, 1841, p. 186.

turies marked a turning point. Later, the *posads* contin-
ued to grow as trading and handicraft centres.

The *posads* differed in size. Some towns consisted of
a *detinets* only and had no *posads*. Yaroslav the Wise es-
tablished such towns to fortify his frontiers, for example,
along the Ros, a tributary of the Dnieper. But a big town
usually consisted of two sections: the kremlin, or *detinets*,
and the suburb, or the *posad*. This is true for other coun-
tries in medieval times: Germany had its Burg and Stadt,
England—its town and city, Central Asia—its fortified
shahristan with its suburb, or *rabad*, and so forth. Every-
where the *posad* was linked with the fortified citadel
and did not exist alone. It was only much later that un-
fortified towns consisting of *posads* alone began to ap-
pear.

4. WHY TOWNS AROSE

The 11th century was a time when towns began to
develop not only in Rus but also in the neighbouring,
Western countries, particularly in Poland, Czechia and
East and North Germany. Here is what G. Belov, a stu-
dent of the history of German towns, says on the subject:
"Although the emergence of towns in the 11th century
undoubtedly has a prehistory of its own, there is still
something unexpected about it. There must have been
certain factors at work for the fruit to have ripened ear-
lier."[1] The development of towns, therefore, is a process
that went on on a broad, international scale, and is of
interest not only to the historian of the U.S.S.R. but also

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[1] Г. Белов, *Городской строй и городская жизнь средневековой
Германии* (G. Below, *Urban System and Urban Life in Medieval Ger-
many*), Moscow, 1912, p. 4; see ibid., D. M. Petrushevsky's article about
the emergence of the urban system in the Middle Ages (pp. IX-LXVIII);
В. В. Стоклицкая-Терешкович, *Происхождение феодального города
в Западной Европе* (V. V. Stoklitskaya-Tereshkovich, *The Origin of
Feudal Towns in Western Europe*), Vestnik Moskovshogo Universiteta,
Social Sciences Department, Issue 1, 1955, pp. 3-25.

to every student of European history. It takes on an added interest considering that Russian towns emerged and took shape as trading and handicraft centres simultaneously with those in Czechia, Poland and Germany, thus keeping pace with developments in other European countries outside the sphere of the Roman Empire. This heightens our interest in the question as to why Russian towns sprang up and sprouted *posads* between the 11th and 13th centuries. It should be remembered that Russian towns were new settlements, which emerged independently of Roman or other ancient towns. We have almost traced their history. Their peculiar economic and social structure took shape independently and was entirely the result of efforts on the part of the ancient Russians.

Many theories have been advanced on the subject, with German scholars paying particular attention to the history of urban law. The mechanical application of these theories to Rus will scarcely help us. A similarity of historical phenomena must naturally be always taken into account but is in itself invalid as final proof. The best known theory of the origin of Russian towns belongs to Klyuchevsky, who draws the following picture: "A cursory glance at the location of these towns shows that they were the direct result of Rus's thriving foreign trade. Most of them are links in the long chain running along the Dnieper-Volkhov line, the main waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." Only a few of them, such as Pereyaslavl on the Trubezh, Chernigov on the Desna, and Rostov in the Upper Volga area, stood out as the eastern outposts of Rus trade, indicating its flanking movement to the Azov and the Caspian seas."[1]

The gist of this theory is in line with Klyuchevsky's idea that trade was the motive force behind the emergence of the early Russian towns. Small wonder then that he believes that "the earliest big towns in Rus" sprang up in

[1] В. О. Ключевский, *Курс русской истории* (V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Course in Russian History*), Part 1, Moscow, 1937, p. 123.

the 8th century. "These towns," he says, "emerged as gathering-places for Rus trade, depots where Rus exports were stored and prepared for shipment. Each one of them was a centre of some industrial area and an intermediary between the latter and the maritime markets. But very soon events turned these trading centres into political ones, and their industrial areas into their dependent regions." What were the earliest Russian towns like? Klyuchevsky's answer is somewhat vague and inconsistent. First he mentions "a fortified trading town" and then observes that "the towns which arose along the main trade routes, along the big rivers, developed into big market-places which attracted goods from the neighbouring urban markets."

Klyuchevsky has not substantiated his theory. He is the author of a remarkable hagiographic study based on a prodigious number of Russian written sources, but in his theory of the origin of Russian towns he often uses such unreliable sources as the *Nikon Annals*, which report a Pecheneg raid on Kiev in 876. His description of urban trade in Ancient Rus is reminiscent of commercial operations in the 19th century: trade thrived, he says, creating in the town "a series of trading establishments which handled trade turnover in the area and served as intermediaries between the local producers and their foreign markets."[1] What are these trading establishments? What mention of them is made in the sources? Klyuchevsky's papers fail to answer this. The author builds his over-all picture of Rus development on the strength of a fact which he has singled out from the mass of information about 9th-10th-century Russian towns. The links some early towns had with the waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks" led him to ascribe a universal motive power to trade and to depict Russian towns "prior to the

[1] В. О. Ключевский, *Боярская дума Древней Руси* (V. O. Klyuchevsky, *The Boyar Duma in Ancient Rus*), Petrograd, 1919, pp. 18-29.

mid-9th century" as gathering-places for extensive industrial areas.

These views spring from his belief that hunting and local industries were extensively developed in Kiev Rus. As a result, the first volume of his famous *Course* ignores the economic structure of Russian lands in the 10th-13th centuries. There is no need to probe the role of agriculture in Kiev Rus after everything that has been written on the subject by B. D. Grekov, but it should be noted that the latter, while criticizing Klyuchevsky, agrees that the major Slav towns sprang up along the great waterways. "The diverse trade links these cities had established," he says, "were of immense importance to their economic and political growth. No wonder they became the centres of the several Slav tribes at a very early date, before the arrival of the Varangians."[1] It is to be regretted that Grekov does not describe these ancient towns which, it is true, existed before the coming of the Varangians. Without this, his criticism of Klyuchevsky's views remains unsubstantiated since it is a question of what these towns were at that time and not of their existence in the 8th-10th centuries.

In a new edition of *Kiev Rus*, the author inquires into why Russian towns arose, but confines himself to a statement that they emerged "in a class society" and that in the advanced areas "towns developed in the 7th-8th centuries."[2]

A closer look at Klyuchevsky's theory, set forth in a number of his papers, shows that it does not hold water, for it is in essence based on the historical and geographical observation that the earliest Russian towns were situated along the waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks" and along the upper reaches of the Volga. A conscientious researcher, he was forced to point out the

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[1] Б. Д. Греков, *Киевская Русь* (B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1944, p. 250.

[2] B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus*, Gospolitizdat 1953, p. 110.

exceptions to the general rule, among them Rostov, Pe-reyaslavl Russky and Chernigov. Actually, there were very many more exceptions even in the 9th-10th centuries, among them Belgorod, Vasilev, Vruchy, Izborsk, Isko-rosten, Peremyshl, Peresechen, Pskov, Cherven and Suz-dal. The fact that a town stood on that great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks" did not of itself en-sure its development. Suffice it to name Vitichev, which was known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century. Later it was deserted, but in 1095 a town named Svyatopolch was built on "Vitichev Hill." Another town that declined in spite of being located on the great water-way was Rodnya, mentioned in the annals. It served as a refuge for Prince Yaropolk Svyatoslavich at the close of the 10th century, but later disappeared from the rec-ords, giving way to neighbouring Kanev. These exam-ples suffice to disprove Klyuchevsky's contention that the earliest Russian towns were necessarily linked with trade along the waterways. Naturally, waterways did contribute to the supremacy of some towns over others, but they were not the primary cause of the emergence of towns, much less of their handicraft and trade *posads*.

S. V. Yushkov, who devotes much attention to towns, traces the close ties that existed between 9th-10th-century towns and the *gorodishches* of the preceding period. He recognizes the fact that "neither the *gorodishches* of the big family type, nor the *gorodishches* with unfortified set-tlements around them, nor yet refugia can be regarded as towns, i.e., major trading, industrial and administra-tive centres." He notes the emergence of new urban cen-tres and describes them, taking Smolensk and Polotsk as examples. He believes that some towns, such as Kiev and Novgorod, became prominent at an early period and "were turned into international market-places," and of-fers the following picture of their internal structure: the prince, his *druzhina* and the tribal elders sat in the tribal towns; due to the protection these offered it was there

"rather than elsewhere that craftsmen and traders settled."[1]

Towns are examined in several chapters of his book. He analyzes the emergence of "personal" prince's towns, regarding them not only as centres "of the military but also of the civilian and economic administration of the princes."[2] Elsewhere in his book he examines the views of Klyuchevsky, Sergeyevich and others, and calls for a revision of the conventional views on the early feudal towns in Kiev Rus. He shows that towns were built by princes and not by merchants and enterprising people, as Sergeyevich believed. He thinks that the Russian town of the 11th-13th centuries was "a feudal castle, the medieval West-European burg, and not a stone castle ... but a wooden one situated on a high bank."[3] The town was primarily a feudal administrative centre for the surrounding volost or group of volosts, a rallying point for the armed forces of the area and a financial and administrative centre. "The territory surrounding the town was so closely allied with it that when a town changed hands this involved the whole district. In that period, the town is unthinkable without its surrounding territories. I believe that this 'citadel' nature of towns explains their great numbers in the 12th century. At that time, every land boasted of dozens of towns."[4] Speaking of the emergence of the urban *posads*, he says that "feudal groups settled in the neighbourhood of citadels, while the merchants and craftsmen lived along the routes, particularly along the banks of rivers." He thinks that "real feudal towns" sprang up with the growth of the productive

[1] С. В. Юшков, *Очерки по истории феодализма в Киевской Руси* (S. V. Yushkov, *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, pp. 20-24. He elaborates on this in his latest paper: *Общественно-политический строй и право Киевского государства* (*The Social and Political System and Law of the Kiev State*), Moscow, 1949, pp. 257-67.

[2] Ibid., pp. 46-48.

[3] Ibid., p. 134.

[4] Ibid., p. 136.

forces, the division of labour and the divorcement of industry and trade from agriculture.[1]

Yushkov's conclusions are highly valuable, although one may differ with him on some points. His exposition, however, is much too general, for he does not examine the urban centres to illustrate their development.

It is not clear either what he means by the pre-feudal and the feudal town. The latter he apparently takes to be a citadel. "The citadel was unquestionably the chief economic and political force in the town that developed around it, even when ... the merchants and the craftsmen began to deal with the economy of the surrounding area. The *posad* must undoubtedly have long been an appendage to the citadel."[2] This proves that Yushkov underestimated the importance of the urban *posads* and their inhabitants in the 11th-13th centuries, showing a traditional disregard for the history of towns.

The end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, when the number of towns multiplied and when *posads* clustered around them, was a momentous period of Russian history. It was a time of great change in Ancient Rus: it was then that Ancient Rus arose and matured as a state. The crafts branched off from agriculture, and the latter developed as the basic occupation of the people. Feudalism was established as a social system.

Feudalism took a long time to become consolidated in Kiev Rus, a process that is dealt with in a valuable research by Grekov. It began in the south, then embraced the north and later still the outlying north-eastern areas. Naturally, it is impossible to draw a distinctive line between pre-feudal and feudal society in Kiev Rus, because economic and social processes are drawn out and cannot be dated with adequate precision. Still, our observations on the emergence of urban *posads* should help us to determine the period when feudalism was established.

[1] Ibid., pp. 131-38.
[2] Ibid., p. 137.

To have gathered in force in the towns, urban craftsmen must have been assured of relatively stable markets. The connection between agricultural development and the establishment of feudalism, so comprehensively analyzed by Grekov and Yushkov, can also be traced in the towns. In my opinion, towns arose primarily where agriculture developed, where craftsmen and merchants made their appearance and urban districts took shape around their centres. This connection between the rise of towns and the development of agriculture, as the basic occupation of the people, may be clearly seen in the available data on Russian towns of the 10th-13th centuries.

Let us take a look at a map of 9th-10th-century Rus given in Y. Zamyslovsky's historico-geographical atlas. The main cluster of towns is located around Kiev, but not all of them by far are connected with the Dnieper or any other waterways.

Belgorod, Vasilev, Iskorosten, and particularly Vruchy, are located at a distance from the Dnieper. The reason for this accumulation of towns around Kiev becomes clear if we bear in mind that this is an old agricultural area. It is here that we find Berestovo and Olzhichi, the earliest Russian villages mentioned in the records. We discover another cluster of towns in the upper reaches of the Bug, in the area around ancient Volyn. It is noteworthy that Cherven, which gave its name to other towns in that area, stands far away from the great waterways. The third cluster of Russian towns between the upper reaches of the Volga and the Klyazma is of particular interest. Rostov and Suzdal, the early towns of that area, are situated at a distance from the Volga and the Oka, although the existence of the Volga trade route has been proved by the discovery of caches and the famous Yaroslavl graves. It will be remembered that the chronicler vigorously asserts that "it is possible to go to Bulgar and Khvalisy" along the Volga which empties into the Caspian Sea in 70 arms. Khvalisy should be interpreted

as being Khovarezm or Khorezm, an important trading centre.[1] Let us recall Ibn-Fahdlan's story of the Visu tribe, the Ves folk who lived on the shores of Lake Beloye and are mentioned in the initial chronicle.[2] A waterway along the Volga led from the shores of the Baltic directly to the Caspian, but Rostov and Suzdal, two of the earliest Russian towns, were built at a distance from it.

Why was that so?

Rostov is situated on the shores of the big but shallow Lake Rostov, known to the chronicler by its earlier name of Nero. The Kotorosl River links the lake with the Volga, but the Volga route lay at a considerable distance from Rostov. A ramified river network connected Rostov with Suzdal and Pereyaslavl. N. Barsov says that Rostov's intercourse with Vladimir-on-Klyazma was carried on along the Nerl and the Ukhtoma, its left tributary which was connected with the Sudogda.[3] Nevertheless, these small rivers were never of any importance, and Rostov's emergence and development could not be attributed to its geographical position along a great trade route. What was much more important was its position in the *opolye*, as the forest steppe areas in North-Eastern Rus were called. The fertile soil conduced to vegetable gardening and grain agriculture while the lake was famous for its fisheries.

It is clear, therefore, that trade was of secondary importance to Rostov: it was not one of the factors that went to create a town away from the Volga route. Trade itself tended towards a centre which developed on a different basis—agriculture and the handicrafts. That is

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 6. It was S. P. Tolstov who identified Khvalisy of the annals with Khorezm.

[2] *Путешествие Ибн-Фадлана на Волгу* (*Ibn-Fahdlan's Voyage to the Volga*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, p. 71.

[3] Н. П. Барсов, *Очерки русской исторической географии* (N. P. Barsov, *Essays of Russian Historical Geography*), Warsaw, 1885, p. 31.

why the ancient towns of North-Eastern Rus are grouped in the fertile *opolye* areas, away from the Volga.

Suzdal, the second major centre of the Zalessk Land, was still less dependent on water routes. Only the Nerl River, a tributary of the Klyazma, which flowed a few kilometres from the town, was apparently of some trading importance in the old days. Its upper reaches are close to another Nerl River which empties into the Volga. The ancient route from the Upper Volga to the Klyazma must have passed along both rivers, and this explains the fact that two rivers existed under a single name. Since only a small watershed lay between them travellers must have regarded the two as one river. The end of the route where the Nerl empties into the Klyazma is marked by a stone cross memorial erected in the 12th century. It resembles similar landmarks on the passages from the Ilmen basin to the Upper Volga basin.[1] But even if that is so, Suzdal's connection with the Nerl trade route is obscure, since the town sprang up at a distance from the Nerl, in the bend of a small river which could not have been a waterway of any importance even in the old days.

We shall have to presume then that Suzdal's emergence was also due to its position as the centre of an area with a farming population. Situated as it was in the centre of the *opolye*, which was favourable to agriculture, it rose to distinction among the other fortified towns in the area.

Three other *opolye* areas brought to life Pereyaslavl Zalessky, Uglich (initially Ugliche Polye) and Yuryev Polsky. Of the three, Pereyaslavl Zalessky, which stood on Lake Kleshchino far away from the Volga, became the most important. But Uglich, on the Volga, was never very prominent. In this respect, it resembled Yaroslavl

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[1] Н. Воронин, *Новые памятники русской эпиграфики XII века* (N. Voronin, *New Memorials of Russian 12th-Century Epigraphics*), *Sovetskaya arkheologia*, No. 6, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, pp. 314-15.

which grew in importance from the 16th century onward when it found itself on the land route from Moscow to Arkhangelsk. Thus, the earliest towns of North-Eastern Rus did not arise along the great waterways but at a distance from them, in the fertile *opolye*, whose importance was first pointed out by M. K. Lyubavsky.

The above does not at all mean that I dispute the importance of waterways, as A. Nasonov insists. The point is that I simply do not believe that waterways were of decisive importance. Nasonov's mention of Kufic coin caches, which do not occur on the territory between Yaroslavl and Nizhny Novgorod, proves that waterways were not as important as they are made out to be. He declares that "there were several routes leading to the Volga"[1] from the Nerl, a tributary of the Klyazma, ignoring the fact that a great watershed separates Lake Rostov from the Nerl, which, besides, is a mere stream in its upper reaches.

The connection between the growth of agriculture and the emergence of towns is much more clearly traced in the 11th-13th centuries, when information about the towns becomes more abundant and factual. A map of the period shows that the towns resembled islands, with the biggest of them in the Kiev, Pereyaslavl and Chernigov-Seversky lands. The second thick cluster of towns was in the Galich-Volyn, the third in the Polotsk-Smolensk, the fourth in Rostov-Suzdal, the fifth in the Ryazan Land. These clusters are separated by vast expanses of dense forest and swamp. Some of the areas are geographically well situated but long remain without the sphere of commerce without meriting the attention of merchants and craftsmen. Such are the mouth of the Tvertsa and the confluence of the Volga and the Oka, which it would seem were destined by nature to serve as trading centres but where,

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[1] A. N. Nasonov, *"The Russian Land" and the Shaping of the Territory of Ancient Rus*, pp. 22-23.

none the less, towns (Tver and Nizhny Novgorod) sprang up only in the early 13th century.

Separation of the handicrafts from agriculture was one of the prerequisites for the emergence of towns with a permanent population. Development of the handicrafts led to the appearance of the urban *posads*. In a few special cases exploitation of local natural resources did give rise to a town, such as Vruchy, or Ovruch.

That town became the centre of the Drevlyane Land in the late 10th century and may have replaced Iskorosten. At that time it was "Oleg's city," the seat of Svyatoslav's second son.[1] In the 12th century, Ovruch was the seat of Ryurik Rostislavich, who used it as a base in his struggle against the other princes. Its quondam affluence is witnessed by a great stone cathedral built in the 11th-12th centuries. Its walls consist of alternating layers of thin brick and bright red slate, a type of masonry used in the building of stone cathedrals in Kiev Rus.[2] Present-day Ovruch stands on the Noryna River, a tributary of the Ush (or Uzh), which empties into the Pripyat. There are no indications that the Noryna was ever a trade route, because, like the Ush, it takes its source in great swamps clearly marked on a 1685 map of the Ukraine.[3] Neither is Ovruch's importance to be explained by its situation in a fertile area because even in the 19th century crop farming barely managed to satisfy local requirements due to a scarcity of suitable land and the poor soil.[4]

But Ovruch's rise to prominence in the 10th-13th centuries appears in a new light when we turn to archaeological data. The remains of ancient workshops were

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 73.

[2] П. Н. Батюшков, *Волынь* (P. N. Batyushkov, *Volyn*), St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 80 (caption).

[3] V. Kordt, *Materialy do istorii kartografii Ukraini, u Kievi*, MCMXXXI, Tables 6-7.

[4] П. Семёнов, *Географическо-статистический словарь Российской империи* (P. Semyonov, *A Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*), Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1867, p. 589.

found in villages around Ovruch, where cross-pieces for spindles were made from local red slate and marketed on a large scale. Artsikhovsky says that "they were absolutely alike in Kiev and Vladimir, Novgorod and Ryazan, even in Khersones, the Crimea and on the Volga in Bulgar. Ovruch cross-pieces were valued so highly that their owners were wont to carve their names on them. One of them bears the inscription: "This is the prince's." It is not trade, then, nor yet agriculture, but the development of handicraft connected with the working of local slate that turned Ovruch into a sizable town in the late 10th century.

These observations could be checked by examining other early Russian towns, but at the moment I wish to note a fact of great importance to the scholar, namely, that some ancient towns which stood at a distance from the waterways soon declined in importance. When the Volga became a major trade route, Suzdal and Rostov lost in importance and their place was taken by towns along the Oka and the Volga (Tver, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Nizhny Novgorod and Ryazan) grouped around Moscow. Ovruch, Pereyaslavl and many other towns declined similarly, while Novgorod, Kiev, Smolensk and Polotsk, which actually stood along the great trade routes, retained their importance. Commerce did not create towns, as Klyuchevsky believed, but it did help them to grow in size and wealth.

Development of feudal relationships led to an influx of villagers into the towns. The newcomers settled in the immediate vicinity of the citadel, the *detinets*. The urban *posad* could never have developed but for a steady demand for handicraft articles in the surrounding district. There must have been someone to manufacture all the numerous agricultural implements (iron plough points, hoes, sickles, scythes), and the miscellaneous weapons and ornaments found in Rus graves. They were fashioned mainly by the urban craftsmen, who lived in the *posads*.

Some areas of Kiev Rus had a great number of towns which catered to the surrounding countryside. The towns crowd each other wherever the rural population is thickest and are conspicuous by their absence in the dense forest and swamp areas, such as the vast expanses between Velikiye Luki and Staraya Rusa, where not a single town was brought to life even by the great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." On the other hand, the area around Cherven and Vladimir Volynsky is studded with towns and townlets. Agriculture and the crafts in the economic sphere, and feudal relationships were the real motive forces which caused the emergence of Russian towns.

Chapter Two

URBAN ECONOMY IN ANCIENT RUS

1. GENERAL FEATURES

In his unfinished article on the decay of feudalism and the rise of national states, Frederick Engels notes the work of the oppressed classes which undermined the feudal system in Western Europe, and devotes special attention to towns. "Behind the walls and moats, incorporated in guilds and on a small enough scale, developed the crafts of the Middle Ages. The first capital was being accumulated, and gradually there arose the need in commerce with other towns and with the rest of the world, and with it the means to protect that commerce."[1] Engels stresses that in spite of the limited nature of production and exchange, the nobility became ever more superfluous and ever more of an impediment to development while the burghers became a class which embodied further progress.

The emergence and development of towns was a major factor also in the social and economic life of Ancient Rus, because they were the centres of commodity production and exchange, however limited the scale of either. It is strange, therefore, that this role of the towns, if not

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[1] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, Moscow, 1956, p. 210.

entirely ignored, is greatly underestimated even in such comprehensive works as P. I. Lyashchenko's *History of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.* He says that while West-European towns began to take shape as independent industrial centres, the towns in feudal Rus played a more subordinate role without their industries developing into specialized urban professions.[1] He makes a distinction between the *svoyezemskiye** towns, which emerged on free territories (including Great Novgorod), the towns of the princes, and the towns which developed from feudal demesnes. In his opinion it was only the first type of towns that enjoyed an independent existence and importance, which, however, was "not in any way different from that of the free towns and medieval city republics of Western Europe."[2]

What are Lyashchenko's conclusions based on? Apparently only on a complete disregard for current Soviet literature. The third edition of his book, which appeared in 1952, does not even mention B. A. Rybakov's work on the handicrafts in Ancient Rus or the *History of Ancient Rus Culture* (1948). Lyashchenko quotes only Solovyov, Klyuchevsky, Aristov, Kostomarov, Zabelin, and others. Small wonder then that his opus intended as a textbook for economic departments gives a distorted picture of the history of Russian towns.

Of course, the history of Russian towns differs from the history of towns in Western Europe. The difference became especially pronounced in the 14th-15th centuries after the Tatar invasion first destroyed Ancient Rus towns and then retarded their development. Western Europe never knew such total devastation as fell to the lot of 13th-century Rus. In Western Europe, urban life developed in more

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[1] П. И. Лященко, *История народного хозяйства СССР* (P. I. Lyashchenko, *History of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.*), Vol. I, Moscow, 1952, p. 199.

* A compound of *svoya zemlya*—own land.—*Tr.*

[2] *P. I. Lyashchenko, History of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 200.

favourable circumstances than in Rus. But even after the Tatar pogroms, we find a relatively intensive handicraft and commercial activity in some Russian towns (Moscow, Novgorod, Smolensk, Pskov and others). As for Russian towns in the pre-Mongolian period, the state of their handicrafts and trade was in no way inferior and in some respects even superior to that of West-European towns. This is easily substantiated by a closer study of the sources.

The medieval town in Rus, as elsewhere, was first and foremost a walled enclosure. This was what initially distinguished a town from a village. Later, the town came to be regarded as a commercial and handicraft centre. And in assessing the economic importance of the Ancient Rus town we should bear in mind that the handicrafts in Rus between the 11th and 13th centuries were just drawing away from agriculture.

· The ties the townsfolk had with agriculture are clearly described in Olga's address to the inhabitants of the Drevlyane town of Iskorosten in the mid-10th century: "All your towns have surrendered to me and have undertaken to pay tribute and till their arable land, but you wish to die of hunger by refusing to pay tribute."[1] Agriculture was of great importance even in such a rich town as early 13th-century Novgorod. "That same autumn," wrote the chronicler in 1228, "there fell a great rain, day and night, from the Assumption to St. Nicolas' Day, there was not a single clear day, the people could neither make hay, nor till their land." As a result, the "common *chad*" ousted their appointed Archbishop Arseny, blaming him for "the long spell of warm weather."[2] The "common *chad*" in this case are not the villagers but the townsfolk, and to them the "great rain" was almost as terrible a calamity as to the peasants.

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 42.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 66-67. The Assumption falls on August 15 and St. Nicolas' Day on December 6. This means that it rained for almost four months.

Excavations in 11th-12th-century Rus towns confirm that the townsfolk were permanently connected with agriculture. In this respect, the finds in the Raikovetskoye *gorodishche*, near Kiev, are extremely interesting. It yielded 22 ploughs and coulters. Large stores of charred rye, wheat, barley, oats, millet, peas, flax, hemp, and so forth, were discovered in the dwellings and outbuildings. Part of the grain had been turned into flour and groats. This gave V. K. Goncharov ground to assert that the "inhabitants of the town based their production on agriculture."[1]

Raikovetskoye *gorodishche* was situated on Ancient Rus's southern border. But then we have Kovsharovskoye *gorodishche* on the Sozh River, some 18-19 kilometres from Smolensk. Miscellaneous artifacts were found on its site indicating that the handicrafts were practised there. Among the finds were smith tongs, a bar of tin, and a fragment of a large clay crucible. None the less, there too, agriculture was the main occupation of the inhabitants, a fact proved by the discovery of hoes, sickles, scythes, and so on.[2]

Vegetable gardens and orchards were an integral part of every urban homestead. Orchards girdled Kiev and ran all the way from the Golden Gates to the Lyadskiye Gates. In the fighting around Kiev in 1151, great damage was inflicted on vegetable gardens, in particular ("and they cut up all the vegetable gardens"). In the 12th century the area adjacent to the Golden Gates in Kiev was said to have abounded in "vegetable gardens."[3] In Smolensk, the prince had a cabbage patch on a hill; it was tended by "a gardener with his wife and children." Cabbage was regarded as a delicacy and together with bread loaves

[1] В. К. Гончаров, *Райковецкое городище* (V. K. Goncharov, *Raikovetskoye Gorodishche*), Kiev, 1950, p. 59.
[2] А. Н. Лявданский, *Некоторые данные о городищах Смоленской губернии* (A. N. Lyavdansky, *Data on the Gorodishches of Smolensk Province*), Smolensk, 1926, pp. 179-296
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 232, 266, 296, 375.

and vinegar was part of the tax collected by the clergy on the Ivanskoye *Sto* Feast in Novgorod.[1] Vegetable seeds are often brought to light by excavations in Ancient Rus towns. Raikovetskoye *gorodishche*, mentioned above, also yielded poppy and cucumber seeds as well as cherry and plum kernels.

Animal-breeding was a major occupation of the townsfolk. Archaeological investigations reveal the bones of many domestic animals, including horses, cows, pigs and sheep. A Novgorod birch-bark scroll, dating from the 12th century, describes a lawsuit involving a cow ("whose... cow it is").[2] Large-scale livestock-breeding in Ancient Rus towns explains why the chroniclers paid such attention to haymaking. The Novgorod chronicler notes the rise of the water-level in the Volkhov ("hay and firewood were scattered") and mentions the rains which hampered the making of hay.[3] The *Kratkaya* (*Brief*) *Russkaya Pravda* sets a special fine for the theft of hay.

Naturally, the role of agriculture differed depending on the size of the town. It prevailed in small towns, such as Raikovetskoye *gorodishche*; it was less developed in such major centres as Kiev and Novgorod, but it existed in one form or another everywhere.

Nevertheless, it was the handicrafts and trade, and not agriculture, that dominated the economy of Russian towns in the 10th-13th centuries. The chief urban centres could not exist without constant intercourse with the neighbouring agricultural areas. Being handicraft, commercial and administrative centres, they consumed more agricultural products than they produced.

As was the case in Western Europe, "the urban system" in Rus took shape under a natural economy with its isolation and scant exchange. Still, the growth of ear-

[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 509.
[2] A. V. Artsikhovsky and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls*, pp. 38-39.
[3] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 26 (1143); p. 67 (1228); p. 27 (1145) and p. 80 (1251).

ly Russian towns and the attendant development of trade and the handicrafts was of immense economic importance, without a study of which the high level of Kiev Rus culture will remain a riddle.

2. HANDICRAFTS

Our studies of Ancient Rus handicrafts are based on firm ground thanks to B. Rybakov's comprehensive researches. They are the result of a detailed examination of material memorials and reconstruct a vivid picture of handicraft production in Rus between the 9th and the 15th centuries. Urban handicrafts are described in special chapters.

Yet a number of important problems in the history of the urban handicrafts of the 10th-13th centuries require additional study. The author himself admits that the number of sources used to compile the list of urban crafts in Ancient Rus was very small. But, he says, "it is only with the aid of a list of this kind that we should be able to compare the trades, and the separate towns with each other, as well as the handicrafts of Kiev Rus with those of other countries."[1]

Not being an expert in the history of handicraft production, I dare not take upon myself to examine, supplement or abridge Rybakov's list. The productive processes so comprehensively analyzed by the archaeologists likewise remain outside the scope of my paper. But there is one sphere which has been inadequately dealt with even in Rybakov's excellent paper, namely, the testimony of written sources about the handicrafts in Ancient Rus towns. These are not only a useful, but also a very necessary supplement to the study of the handicrafts in Rus between the 9th and the 13th centuries.

Archaeological data alone, without the testimony of written sources, often lead to erroneous conclusions.

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[1] Б. А. Рыбаков, *Ремесло Древней Руси* (B. A. Rybakov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Rus*), Moscow, 1948, p. 501.

Some authors have inferred that the handicrafts in Ancient Rus were highly specialized, although, as Rybakov correctly observes, "the combination of a number of kindred crafts in a single workshop is not always an indication that they are primitive."[1] A high degree of specialization must obviously have been based on a steady demand for handicraft articles. In the absence of such demand, the artisans were naturally forced to manufacture the most diverse articles and to perform miscellaneous technical operations in one and the same workshop.

Rybakov names 64 trades in Ancient Rus and divides them into 11 groups. However, his classification is not always substantiated. Thus, it is not clear why he separates the silversmiths from the enamelers, the iconographers from the painters. That is why in my survey of the crafts I intend to adopt a different principle, grouping the artisans according to the articles they manufactured (jewellery, arms and so on) rather than the kind of materials they treated.

Blacksmithing was one of the most widespread occupations. As in later times, blacksmiths usually settled just beyond the town gates, which were sometimes named after them (such as Kuznetskiye Vorota [Blacksmith Gates] in Pereyaslavl Yuzhny). We find the word *kuznets* (blacksmith) in a 12th-century transcript of the *Life of Feodosy of Pechera*: the latter had a smithy forge him an iron chain which he wore on his body."[2]

The word *kuznets* is a derivative of *kuzn*, which denoted the treament of metals, including precious metals. This is clearly seen from the chronicle's report of the flight to Kholm of "iron- and copper- and silversmiths."[3] *Kovach* was another word used to denote an artisan working metal, but it was rarely used in the written

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[1] Ibid., p. 507.
[2] *Сборник XII в. Московского Успенского собора (Twelfth-Century Collection of the Cathedral of the Assumption in Moscow)*, Moscow, 1899, p. 47.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 558.

sources, like the word *koval,* which none the less occurs in the Russian translation of the *Chronicle of Georgy Amartol.* Other words used in the same sense were *votr* which also denoted a smith, including a copper-smith, and *korchy,* an ironforger.[1]

Kolchin's treatise on Ancient Rus iron and metal working has a special chapter on urban and rural smiths. It makes a detailed examination of the metal objects found in Novgorod, Staraya Ryazan, Vyshgorod, Vshchizh, Dorogichin and elsewhere. "The working of metals in Ancient Rus between the 10th and the 13th centuries," says the author, "was carried on by skilled smiths who used a highly developed technology in the mechanical and heat treatment of iron and steel."[2]

Nail-smithing was a special craft, if we are to believe the *Nikon Annals,* whose text was tampered with in later days. However, "iron nails" are mentioned in the opening pages of the *Annals* in a description of the 941 Rus campaigns against Constantinople.[3]

Locksmiths also make an early appearance, and we find them in such an early memorial as the Russian translation of the *Chronicle of Georgy Amartol.*[4]

For the sake of convenience I place among the smiths the craftsmen who fashioned iron and copper vessels. The *Novgorod Annals* for 1216 mention a boiler-smith.[5]

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[1] И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка* (I. I. Sreznevsky, *Materials for a Dictionary of the Ancient Rus Language*) (*Dictionary*), Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1893, col. 434. The source which gives the word *votr* has the verb *votvaryati.* See also col. 852 (*zhelezokovets*); col. 1412-13 (*korchy* or *korchaya*).

[2] Б. А. Колчин. *Черная металлургия и металлообработка в Древней Руси (домонгольский период)* (В. A. Kolchin, *The Iron Industry and the Treatment of Metals in Ancient Rus* [*Pre-Mongolian Period*]), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR,* No. 32, Moscow, 1953, p. 207.

[3] *PSRL,* Vol. X, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 143; *Lavrenty Annals,* p. 43.

[4] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. I, col. 929.

[5] *Novgorod Annals,* p. 57. Zlatostrui says: "He also fashioned boilers ... for his soul." (I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. I, col. 1304)..

Boilers were widely used in Ancient Rus and are frequently mentioned in our memorials. It may be presumed that boiler-smiths also manufactured iron frying-pans *(skovroda)* mentioned in a memorial of the late 13th century. This was a loan-word adopted by the Lithuanians from the Russian at a very early date before it developed all its vowels—*skavarda*[1]—and is an indication that metal-working was very widespread in Ancient Rus.

Craftsmen who manufactured arms and accoutrements made up a special group in Ancient Rus. This branch of the handicrafts was highly developed in Ancient Rus because the demand for arms in feudal times was universal. No wonder many spears, shields, axes, swords and other weapons were discovered in burials. As a rule, townsmen were proficient in the use of arms and fought heroically to defend their towns against the enemy. Different kinds of arms were given special names depending on a) the way they were manufactured (spears of burnished steel); b) their shape and ornamentation (painted shields); or c) origin (Russian coats of mail mentioned in French epic lore; Polish spears, Latin helmets, etc., described in Russian epic lore).

Specialization was particularly widespread in the manufacture of arms, for it required special skills and careful methods of treatment. The *Ipaty Annals* speak of saddle-makers, bow- and quiver-makers.[2] Thus, the manufacture of bows and quivers were separate crafts. Of course, other types of weapons and military equipment were manufactured in special smithies. It must be presumed that craftsmen specialized in the manufacture of swords, axes, spears, helmets, and so forth. The fact that this is not specifically mentioned is due to the scanty and chance nature of our written sources. When the chronicle mentions a craftsman manufacturing a *porok* (catapult), it

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[1] В. Ф. Ржига, *Очерки из истории быта домонгольской Руси* (V. F. Rzhiga, *Essays on the History of Everyday Things in Pre-Mongolian Rus*), Moscow, 1929, p. 42.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 558.

becomes clear that the specialization in the manufacture of weapons was more extensive than is usually imagined.[1] Consequently, even chance written sources indicate that there existed such groups as quiver-makers, bow-makers, shield-makers, and catapult-makers.[2]

The word *bronya* (armour) was also widely used in Ancient Rus.[3] We discover that iron cuirasses were manufactured but we fail to find the corresponding term "cuirass-maker" in early Rus writings.

A special group of Ancient Rus craftsmen fashioned ornaments. This sphere of handicraft production is of great interest to the historian of art, but it is just there that we find the greatest difficulty in drawing a distinctive line between the crafts engaged in by free urban folk and the dependents of princes and boyars. The medieval craftsmen who made jewellery must have enjoyed the patronage of some feudal lord. The Novgorod silver vessels of the 11th-12th centuries are much too expensive to have been produced for sale on the market. They were custom-made, which explains why their owners had their names engraved on silver and gold vessels, a practice which persisted until as late as the 16th-17th centuries.

It appears that the earliest and most common name applied to craftsmen engaged in the working of precious metals was *zlatar, zlatarin*. Translated books describe their work as follows: "Here are *zlatars* at work: they melt silver, and mix tin so that all the dross is burned therein."[4] Russian writings use the word *serebryanik* to denote a jeweller.[5] This was the general name for jewel-

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 86. It should be noted that the word *porok* is a derivative of *prak* (a sling), and is therefore of Slav origin, while *porok* emerges with the full Russian vowels.

[2] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 67, 73.

[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 595.

[4] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. I, col. 980; Vol. III, addenda, col. 117.

[5] A certain "Nezhila serebrenik" of Novgorod was killed in battle in 1234 (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 73).

lers in Ancient Rus, but it does not mean that there was
no specialization in the manufacture of luxury articles
and ornaments a part of which went to satisfy a more
extensive market. These ornaments included small silver
and copper crosses, pendants, belt buckles, women's or-
naments, large quantities of which were discovered in
Ancient Rus burials. Artsikhovsky believes temporal rings
to have been typical ornaments among Slav women.
They were "locally made among the Vyatichi" and were
found in all five Vyatichi *gorodishches* that have been ex-
cavated.[1] Indeed, the occurrence of a certain type of or-
nament on a particular territory indicates that that ter-
ritory had some kind of local production centres. The
bronze enamelled crosses found in the ruins of Staraya
Ryazan were identical with a small cross yielded by the
burial ground in Ruza Uyezd.[2] In the pre-Mongolian pe-
riod, the possessions of the Ryazan princes extended to
the Moskva River basin, possibly much farther than the
written sources indicate. This enables us to locate one
of the enamelling centres even in such a remote region
as the Oka basin. It was Staraya Ryazan.

The manufacture of luxury articles for sale is even
more easily traced in such major centres as Kiev, Nov-
gorod and Polotsk, because some types of iron and cop-
per articles were intended for a more extensive market
than the district could offer. Such are, for example, the
small copper crosses and icons dating from the 10th-13th
centuries found in various parts of Rus.

A. S. Gushchin notes the existence of workshops in
Kiev producing for a relatively extensive market. "Such
a workshop was discovered on Frolovskaya Hill in Kiev.
It had a number of typical moulds for the manufacture
of ornaments for a more extensive market.... Some of

[1] А. В. Арциховский, *Курганы вятичей* (A. V. Artsikhovsky,
The Vyatichi Barrows), Moscow, 1930, pp. 43-47.
[2] *Trudy VIII Arkheologicheskogo syezda v Moskve*, Vol. IV, Moscow,
1897, p. 91.

the articles turned out by the workshop were cheaper and more popular imitations of the ornaments in style among the ruling class."[1] It is hard to believe that jewellery was manufactured all over the country, and this must have made the craft so much more important in the big towns.

The testimony of the monk Theophilus, the author of *Diversarum artium schedula,* is of some interest to the student of Kiev Rus jewellery. In his introduction, he addresses "fili dulcissime" in the following words: *"Quam si dilligentius perscruteris, illic invenies quicquid in diversorum colorum generibus et mixturis habet Graecia; quicquid in electrorum operasitate, seu nigelli varietate novit Tuscia (Ruscia, Rusca, Rutigia, Russia), quicquid ductili vel fusili, seu interrasili opere distinguit Arabia; quicquid in vasorum diversitate, seu gemmarum ossiumve sculptura auro (et argento inclyta) decorat Italia; quicquid in fenestrarum pretiosa varietate diligit Francia; quicquid in auri, argenti, cupri et ferri, lignorum lapidumque subtilitate sollers laudat Germania."*[2]

On the strength of two transcripts of the tractate, the editors of the French translation substituted Tuscany (Tuscia) for Rus. But they admit that the text has other variants: Ruscia (Cambridge Library in Britain), Rusca (Wolfenbuttel Library), Rutigia (Leipzig MS.), Russia (Nani Library). The editors supplied the text with the following comment: "The niello work leads us to presume that Tuscia is to be preferred to Russia. It is not improbable that the Russians, who were taught by the Greeks, engaged in niello work in the Middle Ages, but the art of black-enamel work was a speciality of Tuscany."

[1] А. С. Гущин, *Памятники художественного ремесла Древней Руси X-XIII вв.* (A. S. Gushchin, *Memorials of Art Crafts in Ancient Rus in the 10th-13th Centuries*), Leningrad, 1936, pp. 25-26.

[2] Theophilus, prêtre et moine, *Essai sur divers arts*, Paris, 1843; see also: Theophilus presbiter, *Schedula diversarum artium*, 1 Band, revidirter Text, Uebersetzung und Appendix von A. Ilg, Wien, 1874, S. 9-11.

The German edition of Theophilus's tractate also has Tuscany instead of Rus.[1] In order to realize how biased and unscientific this insertion is, it is sufficient to note that, according to publisher A. Ilg, Ruscia is the word used in the Codex Guelpherbitanus, which he says is the earliest MS. and dates back to the 12th century. We find the word Ruscia in the Vienna transcript, which some scholars believe to be "the earliest known copy of the original" tractate. The 14th-century Leipzig MS. has the variant Rutigia, while the 13th-century Cambridge MS. has the word Ruscia.

The earliest manuscripts then are agreed upon Rus and not Tuscany. Consequently, Rus was most probably what the original said, and it was only later, after the Mongols had devasted Rus, that it was changed, as a result of guesswork, to Tuscany (Tuscia).[2]

A. Ilg believes Theophilus to have been a monk of a Benedictine Monastery in Paderborn in the late 11th and early 12th century. He was known as an artist, whose art objects have come down to our time. He had a smattering of Greek, and this makes us question the origin of the tractate ascribed to Theophilus. It may have been a reproduction of some Greek tractate by a certain Theophilus whose name was retained in the heading.

This is indicated by the fact that the table of contents in every one of the known MSS. of the tractate is at variance with the order of the chapters. The publisher believes this to have been done by the transcribers,[3]

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[1] Theophilus, presbiter, *Schedula diversarum artium*, S. IV, VI, XIII.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "*Dass das Original—Manuscript der Schedula unter den bisher bekannten Handschriften sich nicht befindet, geht schon daraus hervor, dass sie alle Indices besitzen, welche mit der Reihenfolge des Capitels in Widerspruch stehen, die dann im Texte eingehalten ist. Hierdurch gibt es deutlich zu erkennen, dass immer die Anordnung eines andern Manuscriptes als Regel genommen, während des Copirens aber nach Willkür vorgegangen würde.*" (Theophilus presbiter, *Schedula diversarum artium*, S. XXII-XXIII.)

which is highly improbable. What is more probable is that the compiler had recourse to an original which he rewrote and that is why the table of contents and the order of the chapters are not co-ordinated.

The possibility that the author of the tractate was a Greek is added proof that the original read Ruscia. Besides, the treatise enumerates the major countries of the world: Greece, Arabia, Italy, France and Germany. Arabia is naturally not Arabia proper, but the Arab and Moslem countries of the East. On the other hand, Tuscany is only a part of Italy and its insertion in the text is obviously illogical. A very weighty argument in favour of Ruscia (Rus) is that it is mentioned in its different Latin variants, including Rutigia, a sure sign that the original, which must have read Ruscia, did not raise any doubts among the transcribers about the country in question which they knew under its various names.

On the strength of the Vienna 1874 edition, B. A. Rybakov initially gave the date of Theophilus's tractate as the 10th century. But he admits that we are not aware of the existence of any Rus black-enamelled work contemporary to Theophilus. Later on however it was very well known. This alone is an indication that the treatise should be dated from the 11th-12th centuries rather than from the 10th.

Giovanni de Plano Carpini, who met a Rus jeweler at the court of the Great Khan in Mongolia, testifies to the high skill of Rus jewellers. The fact that Vladimir Monomakh was able to have the plates on the coffins of Boris and Gleb beaten and gilded in the course of one night shows that jewellers were not lacking in Rus. This work was done by Russian rather than foreign craftsmen because the report says: "Many who came from Greece and other lands, declared: 'There is no such beauty anywhere.'"[1]

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[1] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*, p. 63.

Craftsmen specializing in the working of non-ferrous metals, chiefly copper, tin and lead, must have emerged at an early date. The sources repeatedly speak of copper and copper articles, and the chronicle mentions copper- and silversmiths.[1] One such craftsman engaged in the working of tin is called a tinsmith (*olovodmets*).[2] The Russian *mednik* and *olovyanichnik* (copper-smith and tinsmith) first appear in written sources much later and become common usage in the 16th-17-th centuries.

I classify woodworkers as a special group. For some inexplicable reason, Rybakov failed to include carpenters among his woodworkers, although carpentry was by far the most common trade in Rus, where wooden buildings predominated. It would appear that he included carpenters in his woodworkers (*drevodely*). But that is wrong.

The word *drevodeli*, or *drevodely*, occurs only in translations into the Russian. Among original Russian compositions it occurs only in Nestor's sermon on Boris and Gleb with its highly involved and frequently artificial phraseology. Only in a few cases is it identified with the carpenter, being used mostly to render the Greek *tecton* and *architecton* (L. *architectus*)—an architect and a builder. Thus, the term *drevodel* not only meant carpenter in general but also architect, a builder of outstanding wooden edifices in contrast to common carpentry.[3]

Apart from this, there was the common Russian term *plotnik* (carpenter) denoting a builder of wooden structures. It was sometimes used contemptuously. "You are *plotniks*. We shall put you to building our houses," was how the people of Novgorod were teased. Indeed, car-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 558.
[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. II, Issue 2, St. Petersburg, 1898, col. 661.
[3] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. 1, col. 734-35.

pentry was highly developed in Novgorod which had a Plotnitsky (Carpenters') End.

Ancient Rus fortresses were built of wood. In 14th-15th-century Rus it was the duty of the townsfolk to fortify their towns. The *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* establishes *uroki*, standard wages, for those who built the fortifications. The article on these builders is called "Those Who Build the Gorod," a direct indication that their job was to fortify the town. A *gorodnik*, one who took part in building ramparts, received a *kuna* when the work was started and a *nogata* when the *gorodnya*, a part of the city wall, was completed. He was also given a food allowance of meat, fish, millet, and malt for beer or *kvass*, as well as oats for four horses. All this he continued to receive until the fortifications of the town were completed ("until the *gorod* is built").[1]

The 12th-century Rus thesaurus also contained the word *ogorodnik*, which denoted a builder of urban fortifications, the *gorodnik*. It was a derivative of the word *ogoroden*, a synonym of *gorodnya*, a wall. In the autumn of 1437, "nine *ogorodens* were torn out" from the Volkhov bridge. Other transcripts have the word *gorodnya* instead of *ogoroden*.[2]

The *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* mentions another trade—bridge-building. There was great demand for bridges, particularly since bridges were a part of the town's fortifications. The *Wages for Bridge-Builders* describes a bridge-builder, who, with his assistant *(otrok)* and two horses, goes forth to build or repair a bridge. The document indicates that bridge-builders were on a

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, p. 114 (Troitsk Transcript of the 14th century). The earliest Synodal Transcript dating from the late 13th century reads: "And this is the building of the *gorod*." See also the chapter on fortifications in *History of Ancient Rus Culture*, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, pp. 439-70.

[2] *Pskov Annals*, Issue I, edited by A. N. Nasonov, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 44.

lower social scale than the *gorodniks*, for their horses they were given only oats while their food allowance was very vaguely specified as: "And he eats what he can."[1] The bridge-builders also laid the block-wood pavements discovered in a number of Rus towns.

It is much more difficult to specify the other trades connected with woodworking. Rybakov is right in doubting the existence of joiners. Our sources make no mention of joiners, although tables and chairs were in general use in Ancient Rus. It is not known either whether woodcarving was a distinct trade. Woodcarvers and joiners may not have existed as such, their work being done by craftsmen who made furniture and carved wood and were known under the terms of woodworkers and carpenters. For even in later times those who built wooden structures also ornamented them. In 1565-68, for example, there were 13 carpenters and not a single joiner among the 119 trades of *posad* people in Kazan. In 1646, Kazan had 10 carpenters and not a single joiner or woodcarver.[2]

Rybakov's suggestion that coopering was a special trade is fairly plausible. The words *botar* (cooper) and *bochka* (barrel) are to be found in the earliest Rus memorials alongside *delva*, a loan-word. But the trade itself is first mentioned only in a 1500 Novgorod court-roll.[3]

The written sources say nothing of turners, but excavations in Novgorod yielded an abundance of wooden vessels made by turners.

Shipwrights made up a special group of craftsmen. In a translated article, they are called *korablchii* (*korab-*

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, pp. 114-15.
[2] *Materialy po istorii Tatarskoi ASSR. Pistsoviye knigi goroda Kazani 1565-68, i 1646*, Leningrad, 1932, pp. 186, 205.
[3] A transcription of the *okladnaya* book of the Novgorod Votskaya Pyatina (*Chronicle of the Russian History and Antiquities Society*, Book 12, Moscow, 1852, p. 3). *Bocharnik* and *bochkar* are mentioned in the 1565-68 Kazan court-rolls.

chii).[1] But this is a derivative which must have existed side by side with the term *sudovshchik*,* well known from 16th-century court-rolls.

A special group of craftsmen were engaged in erecting and finishing stone buildings.

In Ancient Rus, the term *kamennik* (stonemason) was associated with *kholop* labour. "But they are our *kholop* stonemasons," say the Rostov folk about their rivals, the people of Vladimir.[2] It is very possible that the first stonemasons in Rostov Land were the prince's dependents, who lived mainly in Vladimir. This explains the contemptuous exclamation of the Rostov folk. Stonemasonry was so common in Rus in the 11th-13th centuries that the existence of considerable numbers of stonemasons does not require specific proof.

We have no assurance that stonehewers were designated by a special term (*kamenosechtsi*). It is not stone-cutting, but whitewashing that we find in the original text of the chronicle describing the building of a cathedral in Tver in 1399, from which Sreznevsky took the word *kamenosechtsi*.[3] The term stonemason may have included the entire complex of operations in the building and finishing of stone structures.

Construction work naturally demanded the services not only of rank-and-file stonemasons but also of architects, whom translations call *kamenozizhdatel, zhizhitel,* and *zizhditel*.[4]

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[1] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. I, col. 1285.

* *Sudovshchik*—a derivative of *sudno,* a vessel.—*Tr.*

[2] *Laventy Annals,* p. 355.

[3] "He ordered them and the *kamenosechtsi* built it out of burnt slabs and thus ornamented and very skilfully whitewashed and renovated the church." (*PSRL,* Vol. XV, Petrograd, 1922, p. 166.) See also I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. I, col. 1185. When the Cathedral of the Assumption that was being built fell, Ivan III sent to the Roman land for "masters in *kamenosechets*," obviously for architects and not for stonehewers.

[4] *PSRL,* Vol. IX, St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 113; I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. I, col. 872 and 977.

Craftsmen engaged in making clothes and fabrics and in tanning leather, I believe, should be classified as a special group.

Like the "art of weaving," the weaving of fabrics was well known in Ancient Rus.[1] This gives us ground to presume that the *tkach* (weaver) originated at an early date although it does not occur in the earliest sources, which is probably due to the common practice of hand weaving at home so that only the manufacture of expensive fabrics became a separate craft.

The *Novgorod Annals* report the death of one Ivan Pribyshinich, an *oponnik*, i.e., a maker of *oponas*, which denoted fabrics, coverlets or curtains. That is the sense in which the chronicle uses it. But an *oponnik* was naturally not a common weaver but a skilled craftsman, who made special kinds of fabrics.[2] Later reports elucidate this. During the Moscow fire of 1493, the bema gates were charred "and half of the *opona* was burned."[3] In this case the *opona* is an expensive curtain on the bema gates; in this sense it was long used in Russia, where the most diverse fabrics were known. This clarifies our impression of the making of fabrics in Ancient Rus. The remains of precious fabrics discovered in Kiev Rus burials were arbitrarily proclaimed as being of Byzantine origin. As it is, the making of fabrics in Ancient Rus should be thoroughly re-examined. The art of embroidering in Rus was on a very high level in the 15th-16th centuries, but does that mean that it emerged at that very period? It is highly probable that the art of embroidery developed in Rus before the Mongolian invasion. French medieval literature reports Rus as being a country rich in fabrics.

Various kinds of fabrics were manufactured in Ancient Rus. In 1159, the Prince of Smolensk dispatched as envoys "Ivan *Ruchechnik* and Yakun, from Smolensk and from

[1] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 2, col. 1043.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 57.
[3] *PSRL*, Vol. XXIV, Petrograd, 1921, p. 239.

Novgorod."[1] Ivan *Ruchechnik* is the man from Smolensk.
The publishers of *Ipaty Annals* believed that the word
ruchechnik was the envoy's surname, but it is probably
an indication of his profession and a derivative of *ruch-
enik*.[2] According to Dal this denoted "a spindle-ful of
yarn," while *ruchoshnik* was a kind of fine cloth.

This is confirmed, in my opinion, by the fact that there
were *klobuchniks* in Ancient Rus: "Twelve *klobuchniks*,
who weave great *koshes*." (A *kosh* was a bag or sack.)[3]
Klobuks were hoods, a kind of headdress. The monks of
Pechera Monastery in Kiev wove *klobuks* and *kopytses*
(stockings).

Tailors and sempsters must have been a special group
of craftsmen at a very early date. The modern word *port-
noi* is traced back to the Ancient Rus term *porty*,
meaning clothes. As a term denoting a specialized crafts-
man, it appears somewhat late, approximately in the 14th
century, but the *Pechera Paterik* mentions a "sempster of
clothes" who worked for the market. A certain monk who
"worked with his hands, gathered few riches, because he
was a sempster of clothes."[4] This is comparable with that
remarkable statement in what is known as the *Court Law
for the People*, which connects the sempster's skill with
custom work. "And this of the sempster. If a sempster
distorts a coat for lack of skill, or for spite, he shall be
beaten and deprived of his price."[5] A very early Russian
version of the *Court Law for the People* is available.

As in later times, it was the urban tailors who set the
style. Here is a description of a remarkable costume of
Prince Daniil Romanovich of Galich which made a great
impression on the Hungarian king. He was dressed "after
the Russian fashion." His pelisse was made of precious

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 344.
[2] V. Dal, *A Dictionary of Modern Russian*, Vol. III, 4th Ed., col.
1748-50.
[3] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. 1, col. 1306.
[4] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 41.
[5] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 503.

silk of Greek origin and embroidered with gold braid. His boots were of green leather with gold embroidery. He rode a remarkable steed, his saddle was ornamented with gold, and the goldwork on his arrows and sword was amazing.[1] The author of this striking and realistic description must have been an eye-witness and a member of the prince's retinue.

Tanning became a specialized craft at an early date. One of those who fell in the Battle of the Neva was the son of a Novgorod *kozhevnik*.[2] The story of the youth who defeated the Pecheneg giant tells how leather was tanned. The father describes his son's unusual strength as follows: "One day, when we quarrelled, he was kneading a hide. He became angry with me and tore it in half with his hands." This gives a comprehensive picture of the operations performed by a 10th-century tanner. A later version in the *Chronicler of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky* replaces the hide by footwear: "He was then making a shoe and tore it apart with the sole."[3]

Translations and church memorials use the term *usmar*, a derivative of *usma* (skin), to denote a tanner. *Usmoshvets* (a sempster of skins) was used to denote tanners and shoemakers alike, while the word *sapozhnik** appears only in later Russian memorials although bootmaking was a very ancient art. *Usmoshvets* is sometimes translated as tanner and bootmaker. But a distinctive line is drawn between the two at a very early date, as the following text shows: "If thou makest boots, think of those who tan hides."[4]

Craftsmen who made pottery and glassware formed another group.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 541.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 294.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 120; *Letopisets Pereyaslavlya Suzdalskogo (Chronicler of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky)*, p. 32.
* *Sapozhnik* — a derivative of *sapog*—boot.—*Tr*.
[4] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 3, St. Petersburg, 1909, col. 1267-68.

The universal use of earthenware vessels made the potter's trade a very common one in countryside and town. There were places called Gonchary (Potters) in Kiev and Vladimir-on-Klyazma. The ancient Lyudin End in Novgorod was also called Goncharsky End. Potters are mentioned by the written sources as a special group of craftsmen. The making of pottery was not confined to towns, it was also widespread in the countryside, but the town naturally led in this line, for only literate people could make inscriptions on earthenware vessels, to take only one example. Trademarks on pottery discovered in excavations indicate a desire on the part of the potters to put a distinctive touch to their wares. Earthenware vessels were of varying size and shape, and this explains the abundance of names given to them: *gornets*, *korchaga*, *krina* or *krin* (cf. the modern *krinka*), and so forth.[1]

Rybakov says that plinth-makers who manufactured the thin brick used in construction work in the 11th-13th centuries were among those mentioned in the ancient written memorials. Unfortunately, he does not name his source. I doubt the existence of special craftsmen who made plinths or glazed slabs. N. Voronin's excavations in Vladimir-on-Klyazma indicate that glazed brick was made by potters.[2]

There is much more reason to presume the existence of a special group of glaziers. V. V. Khvoika's excavations prove there was a glaziery in Kiev. Locally-made glass bracelets were very popular in Rus. The transportation of glassware from distant lands was no easy undertaking. The fact that the Russians well knew the use of glass is proved by the sources. Thus, the chronicle carries the story of glass eyelets (beads) found in Ladoga.[3]

Kirik's *Inquiry*, a 12th-century memorial, says that a

[1] V. F. Rzhiga, *Essays on the History of Everyday Things in Pre-Mongolian Rus*, pp. 34-40.
[2] *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 239-43.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 199.

vessel defiled should not be discarded, "the wooden, as well as the earthen, as also that of copper and glass and silver."[1] In translated memorials glass-blowing is called "glass craft" (*steklyanichnaya khitrost*), or "the forging of glass" (*steklyannaya kuznya*), and a glazier is called a glass-worker (*steklyannik*).[2]

Iconographers and scribes were a special group of craftsmen. Iconography was mostly custom work, for it required not only great skill but also considerable expenditure of paints, gold and silver, so lavishly used in the art. "The icon craft" appeared to be a very profitable occupation, according to the *Pechera Paterik* story of Alimpy, the iconographer, who "learned the craft not out of any desire to enrich himself." Icons were made by hired craftsmen under special contract and were rather expensive.

Iconographers were known as *ikonniks* (icon-makers) and *obrazopisets* (painters of images). The latter is derived from the Russian word *obraz* (image) which is still current. None the less, the former displaced the latter not apparently without the efforts of the clergy. It first occurs in Metropolitan Nikifor's message to Vladimir Monomakh ("for he is a real *ikonnik*, a maker of icons fit for kings and princes").[3]

Painters are also mentioned in the sources. "Painters of icons" who hailed from Constantinople painted the Cathedral in the Kiev Pechera Monastery. These were foreign painters. A report of the painting of a gate chapel in Novgorod in 1196 even gives the painter's name.[4]

Transcribers of books, or scribes, made their appearance in Ancient Rus with the rapid development of writing.

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[1] *Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka* (*Russian Historical Library*), Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1880, col. 23.

[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 2, col. 585-86.

[3] *Russian Antiquities*, Part I, Moscow, 1815, p. 75.

[4] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 8-9; *Novgorod Annals* p. 42. Painters were also known to have existed (see I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*. Vol. I, col. 866).

Y. F. Karsky gives a long alphabetical list of the scribes mentioned in book inscriptions. In spite of being relatively complete, it does not provide sufficient information about professional scribes. The only scribe who calls himself a craftsman is the one mentioned in the 1288 *Precepts* of Ephremus Syrus. But, as Karsky says, "it may be presumed that other ancient scribes, about whose occupation we have no precise information, such as Putyata and Ugrinets, were professional scribes; had it been otherwise, they should scarcely have confined themselves to such brief remarks as 'Putyata wrote,' or 'Ugrinets wrote,' but would have said more about their state of mind and the circumstances of their work."[1]

Judging by their inscriptions, professional scribes were few. There may have been none at all in the smaller towns, but they must have held a prominent place among the other craftsmen in the big towns, hiring out as scribes and witnesses (*poslukhs*).

Bookbinders may not have existed as a distinctive group, for books may have been bound by scribes. Only the most valuable books, mainly altar Gospels, were ornamented with gold and silver, but that was the work of the jeweller.[2] That is why the word bookbinder does not occur in Ancient Rus books.

There must have been other crafts overlooked by our historians and archaeologists. For example, the *Chronicle of Georgy Amartol*, translated into the Russian at an early date, mentioned a whitewasher (*belinnik*), while the annals say that the walls of the Suzdal Cathedral were whitewashed with lime. This report is of particular interest because it names a number of craftsmen such as roofer, tinsmith and whitewasher ("some to work tin, others to roof, and others to wash with lime").[3]

[1] Е. Ф. Карский, *Славянская кирилловская палеография* (Y. F. Karsky, *Slav Kirill Paleography*, Leningrad, 1928, pp. 259-308; see p. 262.
[2] Ibid., p. 115.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 390.

Several trades were frequently followed by a single craftsman and at others a number of craftsmen were engaged in the manufacture of a single article for which there was a stable demand Such were the saddle-makers, the bow-makers and the quiver-makers, who were summoned to Kholm by Daniil Romanovich of Galich. Rybakov is right, therefore, in noting that "we cannot always be sure that a given trade existed by itself without being combined with a kindred one." But I find it difficult to agree with him when he says that his list of (64) trades in Ancient Rus is incomplete.[1] Thus, I doubt the existence of such specialists as *oruzheinik*,[2] wire-drawer, gem-cutter, earthen pot-maker, parchment-maker, and so on. But these amendments to Rybakov's list do not alter the fact that the handicrafts were highly developed in Ancient Rus.

Summing up the testimony of the written sources we get the following list of crafts (in Russian alphabetical order):

1. Whitewashers
2. Nail-makers
3. Potters
4. Fortification builders
5. Woodworkers
6. Locksmiths
7. Architects
8. Goldsmiths
9. Iconographers
10. Stonehewers
11. Stonemasons
12. Hood-makers
13. Tanners
14. Shipwrights
15. Boiler-makers

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[1] B. A. Rybakov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Rus*, pp. 509-10.
[2] A general name for gunsmiths, whom Rybakov lists next to armourers, harness-makers, etc.

16. Smiths
17. Silversmiths
18. Copper-smiths
19. Bow-makers
20. Bridge-builders
21. Tinsmiths
22. Weavers
23. Painters
24. Scribes
25. Carpenters
26. Catapult-makers
27. Sempsters
28. Spinners
29. Saddle-makers
30. Silverers
31. Glaziers
32. Quiver-makers
33. Bootmakers
34. Shield-makers

But this list, too, is incomplete, for it does not include craftsmen connected with the production of foodstuffs. Rybakov does not dwell on this group and for some reason includes in it only "churners" who incidentally are not mentioned in the earliest Russian sources at all. This is due to the fact that it was not Rybakov's intention to study occupations "that were not crafts in the full sense of the word." But such a study is imperative if we are to describe the economy and population of early Russian towns. People who were engaged in the production and sale of foodstuffs were very numerous in the big urban centres with their motley population, a part of which had already lost or was beginning to lose its connection with agriculture. In 16th-century towns, people dealing in foodstuffs were just as numerous as other tradesmen. More than 22 per cent of all tradesmen were connected with foodstuffs in Serpukhov, Kolomna and

Mozhaisk in the late 16th century. Among them were butchers, bakers, pastrymen, *kvass* brewers and others.[1] This is true for other Russian towns of that period. The 17th-century Moscow market was crowded with the stalls and benches of bakers, apple-vendors and brewers.

It was similar elsewhere. The butchers' guild in Paris was one of the biggest in medieval times. There were also bakers' guilds, and so forth. It is natural, therefore, to presume the existence of similar guilds in Ancient Rus towns as well.

Unfortunately, our written sources have practically no information about such trades guilds in the 11th-13th centuries. A late chronicle report dating from 1485 says that butchers in Pskov had their own corporation with a common treasury, which paid the craftsmen who built a bridge across the Pskova River.[2] It may well be that butchers in Ancient Rus were known under a different name, that of *prasol*. Dal's *Dictionary* says that *prasols* were people who bought meat and fish for the retail market. In other words, they were commission agents. Ancient Rus memorials use the word to mean a seller in general, and the derivative verb *prasoliti* meant drawing profit and trading in general. Here is the way an early memorial uses the word: "If any one should be selling a *chelyad*, he must take as much for him as he gave; if he takes more he will then be profiteering and trading (*prasolya*) in human souls."[3]

Kirik's 12th-century *Inquiry* speculates on whether it is permissible to serve mass with a single wafer when a

[1] Н. Д. Чечулин, *Города Московского государства в XVI веке* (N. D. Chechulin, *Towns in 16th-Century Muscovy*), St. Petersburg, 1889, p. 197.

[2] "The Pskovites erected a new bridge across the Pskova, and gave the craftsmen 60 rubles, and the silver was paid by the butchers." (*PSRL*, Vol. V, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 43.)

[3] И. И. Срезневский, *Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках* (I. I. Sreznevsky, *Notes on Obscure and Unknown Memorials*), St. Petersburg, 1876, p. 332.

second one cannot be obtained This is an indirect hint that bread was sold in Ancient Rus markets and that, consequently, there were master bakers, since the answer said that mass could be served only in the absence of a market in the neighbourhood.[1] Wafers must have been available in the market, or at least there must have been flour on sale to bake them.

The *Pechera Paterik* gives indications that food was a commodity It describes quarrels between the superior and his cellarer about the money "wherewith to buy the requisites to feed the fraternity."

The *Pechera Paterik* describes the founding of the cloister and says that initially its monks were engaged in various crafts and "took their wares to sell in town where they bought corn which they divided among themselves to grind in the night for the baking of bread in the morning."

A food item that was definitely available in the market was salt. In Kiev, for example, it came from Galich, and when communications were disrupted during the internecine quarrels of the princes, the salt shortage was used by profiteers to spiral prices. That is what happened in the late 11th century when salt dealers could not reach Kiev from Peremyshl and Galich.[2] The *Novgorod Annals* for 1232 report that salt prices were extremely high that year. It is clear then that salt was a food item which became a commodity at an early date.

The fact that there are few hints at the existence of tradesmen who specialized in the production of foodstuffs is no proof that they did not exist at all. But it is tacit evidence that craftsmen were not numerous in Russian towns in the 11th-13th centuries. Apparently, the production of foodstuffs played an insignificant role in Rus

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[1] "If it is far away, in a village, for example, and there is no other way of obtaining another wafer, then it shall be permissible." (*Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka*, Vol. VI, col. 50-51.)
[2] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 108.

urban economy. Foodstuffs were purchased in the market practically without jobbers and only in big towns. The chronicler describes the generosity of Vladimir Svyatoslavich and depicts the distribution of foodstuffs to the sick and the poor: "Bread, meat, fish, vegetables, honey and *kvass* in vats were loaded on carts and hauled about the town." Great quantities of beef and venison were served at the prince's banquets, and "there was an abundance of everything."[1] This was not bought in the market but was brought in from the prince's demesnes.

The townsfolk still had strong ties with agriculture and animal-breeding. Arable land and vegetable gardens, and meadows in the valleys and the lowlands were of great importance to urban economy. That is why there is such frequent mention of *bolonya*, lowlying or riverine lands where the herds and flocks of the towns grazed. In the towns, natural economy still held sway.

3. CUSTOM WORK AND COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Ancient Rus handicraft workshops have been repeatedly described on the strength of archaeological finds, but these give only a general picture of production and the conditions in which craftsmen lived, without directly helping us to reconstruct the relationships which existed between the craftsmen, their customers and the market.

A number of moulds used to turn out standard handicraft articles have led some scholars to conclude that the workshops which yielded them had produced for the market. Thus, A. Gushchin notes the existence of a workshop in Kiev which turned out "cheaper and more popular imitations of the ornaments in style among the ruling class."[2]

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 86.
[2] A. S. Gushchin, *Memorials of Art Crafts in Ancient Rus in the 10th-13th Centuries*, p. 26.

The emergence of commodities is in itself a sign that markets already existed. The moulds in question do not prove that such ornaments were sold in the market, but they do prove that the latter were stamped with the aid of one and the same mould. The production of commodities in Ancient Rus must have existed in one form or another, but its importance should not be overestimated, as was done in a report by V. T. Pashuto and L. V. Danilova, a fact noted in the subsequent discussion.[1]

Most of the written sources speak of custom handicraft production. I cite a few facts here because these reports on the sale of handicraft articles are practically unknown.

The story of Alimpy, the iconographer, gives one of the more striking pictures of custom work. A rich Kievite built a church and wished to have it decorated with big icons. He gave a sum of money (silver) and some boards to two monks of the Pechera Monastery, asking them to conclude an agreement (*ryad*) with Alimpy. The monks turned out to be embezzlers and thrice extorted money from the customer until the latter began to protest.

Here is another typical case. A customer hired Alimpy to paint an icon for a feast. The latter fell ill and failed to do the work in time, a fact which earned him much rebuke. But the icon was painted in miraculous fashion. Here is how the story has it. The youth who was working on the icon was engaged in applying gold, and braying paints to paint the icon. This shows that one and the same craftsman performed all the operations involved in the painting of an icon. In this case the boards were made separately, but this, it appears, was an exception because the famed artisan Alimpy was too busy.[2]

It may be said, therefore, that iconography was a craft based mainly on custom work. But in later times iconog-

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[1] Л. В. Данилова, В. Т. Пашуто, *Товарное производство на Руси (до XVII в.)* (L. V. Danilova, V. T. Pashuto, *Commodity Production in Rus, [Prior to the 17th Century]*), *Voprosy Istorii*, No. 1, 1954, pp. 117-36.
[2] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 120-25.

raphers also began to work for the market as will be seen from the resolutions of the Stoglav Congress in the mid-16th century.

Custom work prevailed among the transcribers of books, as is evidenced by the inscriptions on MSS. Thus, the first dated Russian MS., *Ostromir's Gospel,* was written in the course of 19 months by deacon Grigory for the Novgorod *posadnik* Ostromir. It was completed in 1057.

Custom work was also widely practised by armourers and jewellers. This is proved by the existence of articles bearing the names of their makers. Such are the famous vessels, or *kratirs,* of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod and the cross which belonged to the Polotsk Princess Yefrosinia in the 12th century.

In custom work the materials were usually supplied by the customer, as was the case in the story of Alimpy, the iconographer. A similar practice prevailed in the building of stone churches. Oleg Svyatoslavich, who was building a stone church in Vyshgorod near Kiev, "brought the builders, and told them to build, and gave them in abundance everything they needed."[1] Jewellery work was sometimes done under the direct supervision of the customer. That is the only interpretation of the story about the way the coffins of Boris and Gleb were ornamented in Vladimir Monomakh's time. The latter wished to ornament their shrines with gold and silver. "And coming in the night he measured the coffins, beat the silver plates and gilded them, and the next night he mounted them."[2] All this was naturally done by his craftsmen under his direct supervision.

Students of art and archaeology who have to deal with remarkable Ancient Rus artifacts, are inclined to over-estimate the level of the productive forces in Ancient Rus, forgetting that its productive and marketing potential was extremely limited between the 9th and the 13th cen-

[1] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb,* p. 64.
[2] Ibid., p. 63.

turies. This is repeatedly attested to by written sources, which have so far been inadequately studied to allow a description of the economic system that prevailed in the Russian lands. Thus, the iron fetters brought from captivity by a Pechera Monastery monk were put to good use in the church: "And having taken off his fetters they forged what was needed for the altar."[1] This shows that iron was in short supply and highly valued.

None the less, commodity production in Ancient Rus did exist. The monks of the Pechera Monastery "with their hands knitted stockings and hats and other articles, and took their wares to sell in town where they bought corn which they divided among themselves to grind in the night for, the baking of bread in the morning."[2]

There was, therefore, a market in town where articles, such as stockings and hats, could be sold, and grain bought in return. We discover a man travelling to town of a morning from the suburban Novgorod manor of Pidba with his pots in a hurry to reach the market-place as early as possible.[3] He was one of those engaged in commodity production for sale in the market.

Thus, even the scanty written sources confirm the existence of commodity production in Ancient Rus under the feudal system and the slave system before that. What is important here is the scope of commodity production and whether it prevailed over custom work.

The above shows that at the time it was custom work that predominated.

4. URBAN COMMERCE

Trade was one of the main features of urban economy in Ancient Rus. But Rus trade in the 9th-13th centuries has not yet been adequately studied. The chapters on trade in the comprehensive work *Essays on the History of the U.S.S.R.*

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 80.
[2] Ibid., p. 26.
[3] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 160.

(1953) are typical. The author declares that "the chronicles, title-deeds and folklore monuments testify to the abundance of commodities brought to the urban markets."[1] But then he deals only with slate cross-pieces and makes out foreign trade to have been mainly slave traffic.

The *History of Ancient Rus Culture* devotes considerably more attention to domestic trade. B. A. Rybakov, the author of the chapter on trade and trade routes, notes correctly that domestic trade has not been adequately studied although it is the touchstone of a country's economic development. His archaeological studies led him to a number of valuable conclusions on foreign as well as domestic trade in Ancient Rus.[2]

A study of the domestic market is particularly important for a history of towns. Foreign commodities may have reached even the smallest towns but they did not influence trade in Russian towns. In the 9th-13th centuries, urban trade was dominated by a natural economy when the demand for imported goods was very limited. That is why it was only the big towns that were engaged in foreign trade, while the petty urban centres were connected only with their neighbouring rural districts and served as their manufacturing and commercial centres.

The market was just as important to Ancient Rus towns as their battlements. It was called a *torg, torgovishche, torzhishche*. It was the busiest place in town where people congregated for the most diverse purposes. It was here that the town crier proclaimed the orders of the prince or the loss of things and *kholops*. The story about the miracle of the drowned infant has the Kiev metropolitan dispatch a crier to the market-place after morning mass

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[1] *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Period feodalisma. IX-XV vv. (Essays on the History of the U.S.S.R. The Period of Feudalism. 9th-13th Centuries),* Part I, Moscow, 1953, pp. 143-50.

[2] Б. А. Рыбаков, *Торговля и торговые пути* (B. A. Rybakov, *Trade and Trade Routes*), *Istoria kultury Drevnei Rusi (History of Ancient Rus Culture),* Vol. 1, pp. 350-69.

to announce that a child was discovered in the aisles of St. Sophia's Cathedral.[1] The call was answered by the parents of the drowned child.

The market plays a similar role in the story of how St. Georgy's stone church was built above the Golden Gates in Kiev. When it became clear that there was a shortage of labour to build the church, the prince ordered money brought and an announcement made in the market-place to the effect that a *nogata* would be paid per day. "And there were many workers."

Both texts quoted above are of ecclesiastical origin and use the words "to preach" and "to proclaim" to describe the announcement made in the market-place. The lay *Russkaya Pravda*, on the other hand, uses the colloquial "to cry" for the same purpose. It is noteworthy that the story of the miracle of the drowned child gives an inkling of the time people gathered in the market-place which coincided with early mass at church. In Ancient Rus urban time was reckoned by the gatherings in the market-place, just as the Ancient Greeks used the expression *en agora pletuse* to denote the hours when people thronged to the market-place. The Novgorod conflagration of 1152 occurred at the height of market activities.[2] Another Novgorod fire broke out "during the market."

The market was the place where commodity prices were established. The fact that prices were high was expressed by the words: "Everything has become dearer in the market." This dependence of the townsfolk on the market is indicative of the state of urban economy in the 11th-13th centuries. Such vital foodstuffs as bread, meat and fish were on sale. As was previously said, the monks of the Pechera Monastery in Kiev sold knitted goods to buy grain.

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[1] "At market time he began to proclaim about whose child it was lying in front of the icon in the gallery of St. Sophia's." (MSS. of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, early 16th century, pp. 449-52.)
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 29.

The market, particularly in the big towns, was a vital necessity to the townsfolk. *Novgorod Annals* reveal to what extent the populace in the big towns was dependent on prevailing foodstuff prices. These reports range roughly over a century and were, consequently, penned by several generations of Novgorodites rather than by any single student of market prices. They must, therefore, be regarded as phenomena typical of the 12th-13th centuries and reflecting the everyday needs and worries of the man in the street.

There was a great famine in Novgorod in 1128, says the chronicler, and an *osminka* of rye cost a *grivna*. Many died of hunger, and corpses lay about in the streets, the market-place and along the roads. This reveals the connection between the high prices and the market-place where famished people gathered and died. In 1161, there was again "great grief" and "need among the people." "We bought a small vat (of grain) for 7 *kunas*." In 1170 prices in Novgorod soared once again. A vat of rye cost 4 *grivnas*, bread 2 *nogatas*, honey 10 *kunas* per pood. High prices are reported in 1188, 1215, 1228, 1230 and 1231.

The records note high prices for bread, millet, wheat, meat and fish. All this was available in the market, as is made clear by the item for 1228: "And everything was dearer in the market: bread and meat and fish, and high prices prevailed from then on: bread was bought at 2 *kunas*, while a vat of rye cost 3 *grivnas*, wheat 5 *grivnas* and millet 7 *grivnas*."[1]

Sexton Timofei, "a sinner," as he calls himself, who described the Novgorod famine of 1230, appears to have been an eye-witness. He paints a picture of the calamities which befell the town in the spring of that year when cannibalism was practised. It was a time when neighbours would not share a piece of bread, and there was

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 22, 31, 33, 39, 54, 66, 69, 71.

"great grief and sorrow," "sorrow in everyone's eyes in the street, anguish at home as one sees the children crying without bread or the dying."[1]

The aching words of this minor churchman reveal the deep-seated anguish of a man burdened with a big family and famished and dying children.

The *Novgorod Annals* describe the market-place as the chief source of foodstuffs. One chronicler complains that the way to the market-place was blocked by corpses: "It was impossible to reach the market-place either through the town or along the rampart."[2]

Retail trade, as we know it, was embryonic. Bread and groats were bought by the vat, honey by the barrel, and turnips by the cart-load. This is nothing like the markets we find in Russian towns in the 16th-18th centuries with their benches, shelves and stalls, where bread, *kvass*, pies and other foods were sold. A study of *Novgorod Annals* gives an idea of the gap between urban trade in the 11th-13th centuries and trade in the Russian centralized state.

Novgorod Annals clearly reveal the ties which existed between the urban market and the surrounding villages. Famine in the towns was usually the result of a harvest failure in the provinces. The dependence of such a big town as Novgorod on its agricultural district is evident from the story of the 1215 famine. The harvest was destroyed by frost in the (Novgorod) volost, while it remained intact in the area around Torzhok. A famine set in in the town because the prince detained the transport of grain in Torzhok.[3]

Salt was an item of inter-regional trade. *Gosti* (merchants) brought it to Kiev from Galich and Peremyshl. It

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 71.
[2] Ibid., p. 30.
[3] "The frost killed the abundance in the volost, but in Torzhok everything was safe. And the prince blocked the highroad to Torzhok, and did not let a single cart pass in the town." (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 54.)

was sold by local merchants who raised prices during the internecine quarrels of the princes when the road to Galich Rus was cut.[1]

Artifacts made in the countryside were also brought to the towns as becomes evident from the story of the man from Pidba manor near Novgorod, who planned to sell his pots in town.[2]

Judging by the chronicle and late 16-th century courtrolls there was only one market-place in Novgorod. It stretched to the Volkhov. Market-places were also commercial centres in other big Ancient Rus towns (such as Vladimir Zalessky). This is so much more true of the small towns. Even in the early 20th century they had, as a rule, only one market square with shops clustering around it. There were market-places even in such towns as Zdvizhden in the Kiev Land. The only exception was Kiev in the 10th-12th centuries with its enormous population and vast territory. Even if we take with a grain of salt Thietmar of Merseburg's report that it had several market-places, the existence of at least two is recorded in the annals. The chief market-place was in Podol, and there was a Babin Torzhok* on the Gora, whose colloquial name may be a sign that it was of secondary importance as a market-place.

The article in *Russkaya Pravda* which describes the procedure for tracking down stolen articles underlines the limited nature of the ties which existed between the urban market and the countryside. To prove the ownership of a stolen thing one had to provide a witness or bring the *mytnik*, a minor official representing the prince in the market-place. But this practice was confined to the city precincts or its nearest district.[3]

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 108.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 160.
* *Babin*—a derivative of *baba*—country-woman.—*Tr.*
[3] "There is no search for the culprit outside of one's own town." (*Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, p. 108.)

The records furnish clear proof that the urban market depended on the countryside. It is much more difficult to prove the contrary—that the countryside depended on the urban industries and trade—although in the absence of this the very existence of the *posads* with their craftsmen and merchants remains unexplained. It is a hopeless task to attempt for the scholar who relies mainly on written sources, but it was done by Rybakov on the strength of archaeological data. He reports that rural demand for ironware was satisfied mainly by smithies in village and town. Such smithies catered for areas between 10 and 30 kilometres in diameter. "The articles cast in a single mould (by one craftsman) were diffused over such limited districts which, incidentally, coincided with the areas served by a single smithy."[1]

A considerable part of the forgings studied by the archaeologists is of rural origin, but some of them were obviously made in towns. The observation that the smithies "catered for areas between 10 and 30 kilometres in diameter" is interesting in itself because that was roughly the distance between towns in the populated regions of Ancient Rus. In the Kiev Land, the distance was close to 40 or 50 kilometres. Rybakov's observation is, therefore, of cardinal importance.

Primitive ironware fashioned in rural smithies were diffused over a small area, but barrows yield articles which must have been forged in urban workshops, such as miscellaneous ornaments (beads, pendants) often diffused over a wide area. Slate cross-pieces made in Ovruch were discovered on a vast area which on the whole coincides with the territory occupied by the Ancient Rus people.[2]

The list of crafts given above shows that they were introduced into the economy of Ancient Rus very gradually. No wonder the list comprises mainly crafts dealing

[1] B. A. Rybakov, *Trade and Trade Routes*, p. 351.
[2] Ibid., pp. 354-57.

with the manufacture of arms, ornaments and expensive fabrics intended for the feudals. Rybakov says that the countryside was practically out of touch with urban production although it was gradually being drawn into its orbit. Canons dating from the 11th-13th centuries laid down a number of rules which show how primitive life was at the time. Metropolitan Ioann's replies (1080-89) mention underwear made of "the skins of animals." Churchmen were allowed to wear them in cold weather. Kirik's *Inquiry* gives permission to wear bearskin clothes.[1] Consequently, even homespun cloth was not always available in the remote villages where people wore clothes made of the skins of wild animals.

Internal trade was so commonplace that it scarcely aroused the interest of contemporary writers. That is why we have such fragmentary and scanty reports on the domestic trade turnover in Ancient Rus. The chroniclers mention the prices of foodstuffs only to show how exorbitant they were.

Foreign, "overseas," trade is described in far greater detail. From the earliest times the term *kupets* (merchant) had a synonym in the word *gost*, with its derivatives *gostba* and *gosteshba*. This latter term was used to denote a foreign merchant or a merchant trading with foreign countries. "Some sail the seas, and carry on *gostba* on land, amassing riches," says a 13th-century MS.[2] The word *gostba* is similarly interpreted in the story of Avraamy who was killed in Bulgaria on the Kama: "Avraamy was a *gost* who carried on *gostba* travelling from town to town." The ancient meaning of the word *gost* was long current in Russia and by the 16th-17th centuries it came to denote an honorary title conferred by the tsar on the most prominent merchants.

Medieval merchants were great travellers. We learn of

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[1] *Russian Historical Library*, Vol. VI, col. 7, 48.
[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. I, col. 571.

Russian merchants visiting the remotest lands: Central Asia, Constantinople, Denmark, Gottland, while Venetian, Czech, Greek, Central Asian, German and other merchants came to Kiev, Novgorod, Smolensk and other Ancient Rus towns. Enterprising merchants were daunted neither by the enormous distances nor by the hardships of travel in summer or winter.

One Ancient Rus sermon, come down to us in a 13th-century MS., gives the following description of various modes of travel. The moon and stars "light the way for all travellers, the moon on the sea, rivers and lakes. The sea does likewise, and the lakes, the sources and the rivers work for men; at God's behest some are driven by the winds in their ships, from town to town, making their way in the night, by boat and vessel in summer, and by sleigh in winter."[1]

The hardships of the road made the merchants unite in big caravans. We learn that 150 Novgorod and 15 Smolensk merchants came to trade in Pereyaslavl Zalessky in 1216.[2] The Smolensk merchants probably made up a separate caravan. Sea caravans were made up of several ships.[3] This of course is a far cry from the splendour usually attributed to landing piers in Ancient Kiev and Novgorod. None the less, it was *gostba* that was the source of merchant opulence which so impressed contemporaries. Solovei Budimirovich, Sadko "the rich *gost*," and Churilo Plenkovich are reputed to have been overseas merchants. Their ships were laden with goods, while Sadko dared vie in riches with Great Novgorod itself.

Svyatoslav's well-known statement about Pereyaslavets on the Danube lists the basic items exported from

[1] Н. Гальковский, *Борьба христианства с остатками язычества в Древней Руси* (N. Galkovsky, *Christianity's Struggle Against the Survivals of Paganism in Ancient Rus*), Vol. II, Moscow, 1913, p. 154.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 474.

[3] *Novgorod Annals* (p. 22) say that 7 boats sank on their way to Gottland in 1130. Only a few men survived.

Rus and its neighbours in the 10th-11th centuries: "Goods of all kinds converge here: gold, rich fabrics, wines and fruit from Greece, silver and horses from Czechia and Hungary, furs, wax, honey and slaves from Rus."[1] Other Rus exports were of lesser importance. Among them were "fish teeth" (walrus bones), flax, lard, and some handicraft articles, such as arms and ornaments. Fabrics, metals and metal articles, arms, wines, fruit and so on, were imported. Foreign trade catered mainly for the feudal lords and the church; and it was only in lean years that corn became a commodity brought by foreign merchants.

Foreign trade was centred in the towns, mostly in the bigger ones, but foreign goods also trickled into the countryside, which supplied the towns with honey, wax, furs, lard, flax and other items. In this manner it was involved in the trade turnover although its products did not reach the market as a result of trade deals but came in the form of quitrent and tribute.

In spite of the limited turnover in Ancient Rus between the 9th and the 13th centuries, trade duties (torg) were the main item of royal revenue. The torg desyaty (the right to levy trade dues every tenth week) was granted to cathedrals in Kiev, Vladimir Zalessky[2] and possibly elsewhere.

5. USURY AND COMMERCIAL CREDIT

Commercial transactions in Ancient Rus were closely bound up with credit which is dealt with in several articles of *Russkaya Pravda*. Business, however, was transacted on trust and by verbal agreement, rather than by written document. A merchant who was given goods for safekeeping

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 48; "I shall send thee many gifts: slaves, wax and hides." (Ibid., p. 45.)
[2] *Памятники русского права (Memorials of Rus Law)*, Issue 1, compiled by A. A. Zimin, Moscow, 1952, pp. 235-52; see also *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 330.

and was accused of misappropriating them is quoted by *Pravda* as uttering the following reproach: "But you left them with me yourself."[1]

Commercial transactions were carried on by a stable merchant community. This explains the article in *Extensive Pravda* about the bad debtor who failed to pay his debts "for many years." Judging by *Extensive Pravda*, the merchants made up a distinct social group, and that is why the Acts of God which fell to their lot did not ruin them altogether, for each "shall pay from year to year as he had started to pay." It was only the total bankrupt who had to leave his social group to become an *izgoy* like the pope's son who remained illiterate and the prince who lost his demesne as mentioned in the 12th-century *Statutes* of Prince Vsevolod.

Trade in Kiev Rus developed with the aid of credit—an indication that business deals were sound and based on trust.[2] Naturally, credit was closely allied with usury. The plague of usury, *rost, rez, likhva*, was well known in Rus society in the 11th-13th centuries and gave rise to justifiable complaints. The repulsive figure of the usurer who weaves a web around his victim is frequently described in Ancient Rus memorials. "Usury, robbery, violence and money-grubbing"[3] are listed by church writers as sins on a par with murder and depravity. The eloquence with which

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[1] "That is just what you deposited with me, for a favour was done him safekeeping his goods." (*Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, pp. 422-25.)

[2] The article in *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* about the bankrupt creditor is, in my opinion, a continuation of the article on the *rez* and is separated from it by an insertion "about the monthly *rez*." Initially it read as follows: "About the *rez*. If one gives *kunas* for *rez*, or honey, or grain for increase, he shall call witnesses to testify how the agreement was made, thus even he shall take. . . . And if there are no witnesses, and the *kunas* are 3, then he shall take an oath on his *kunas*; and if there are more *kunas* he shall say thus: thou hast failed because thou has not called anyone to bear witness." (*Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, pp. 422-24, Arts. 50 and 52.)

[3] *Рукописи графа A. C. Уварова (MSS. of Count. A. S. Uvarov)*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1858, p. 112.

preachers attack usury shows how widespread it was. *Pechera Paterik* and a sermon of Metropolitan Nikifor reveal that the princes, among them Vladimir Monomakh, were not averse to usury. The Novgorod Archbishop Ilya rebuked his priests for preferring usury (*likhva* and *rezoimaniye*) to the apostolic precept of impecuniosity.

What we are concerned with here are not the moralizations of the preachers, but the undeniable fact that usury was widely practised in Rus society, an indication of the progress it had made by the 11th-13th centuries from its embryonic state of a few centuries before. Even *Russkaya Pravda* mentions various types of operations involving interest on money and goods. Interest was exacted either per mensem or every third of the year. Vladimir Monomakh issued a special decree to legalize the receipt of interest "up to the third *rez*." The fact that this was done after the Kiev uprising of 1113 shows how important it was to contemporaries.

One of the articles in *Russkaya Pravda* clarifies the role of usury in commercial operations. Orphans were placed in the care of a guardian from among the next of kin. The latter was "to be given (the orphans) with the property, and with the house, until they grow up, and the goods be given in the presence of witnesses, and whatever interest he may gain or profit derive, shall be his."[1] In this case interest on goods or money is regarded on a par with the purely commercial transactions of buying and selling. A provision of this nature could have arisen only in an urban society with commercial and credit operations, in other words, among merchants and people connected with them. The existence in the second half of the 13th century of the well-known *Teshata's Agreement,* accidentally preserved in the Riga archives, shows how common written deeds were in Novgorod. It is improbable that it was unique and the only document "Dovmont's scribe"* drew up. But it is

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, p. 446, Art. 99.
* A scribe of the Pskov Prince Dovmont.—*Tr.*

the only one that has come down to us from among similar Ancient Rus deeds.

Teshata's Agreement gives a picture of commercial transactions in Ancient Rus. It is true, that as a document it lies beyond the framework of the present paper, because it most probably dates from between 1266 and 1299, but the relationships it describes could not have arisen overnight. I quote this brief document in full (without the signatures of the witnesses): "This is an agreement between Teshata and Yakym about their *skladstvo*, about the first and the last; and Yakym received the silver for the maid and Teshata is free to take Teshata's necklace from Yakym's wife; and we have both settled our accounts between us. And neither Teshata owes Yakym anything, nor Yakym Teshata."[1]

The key to the document appears to be the word *skladstvo*. I. I. Sreznevsky renders it as an agreement, "a marriage contract." His dictionary gives yet another closely allied word—*skladaniye*—which means clubbing: "'About not arranging banquets by *skladaniye*.'"[2] *Skladstvo* and *skladaniye* are allied but are not synonymous, because "the first and the last *skladstvo*" were obviously not clubbing for a banquet. Kochin does not translate *skladstvo*, but explains the word *skladnik* as follows: *skladnik*—a partner; *skladnichestvo* was practised in trade and agriculture.[3] This is very close to the sense in which *skladstvo* is used in *Teshata's Agreement*. *Skladstvo* is a partnership, usually of a commercial nature, and is synonymous with the term *bratchina*. A similar interpretation was giv-

[1] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 15, No. XXVII. The publishers hesitate to date this document; they connect "Dovmont's scribe" with Prince Dovmont, who ruled in Pskov between 1266 and 1299 and note that the deed was discovered in a Riga archive among Polotsk documents.

[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 2, col. 717; ibid., Issue 3, addenda, col. 254.

[3] Г. Е. Кочин, *Материалы для терминологического словаря Древней России* (G. Y. Kochin, *Materials for a Terminological Dictionary of Ancient Russia*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1937, p. 326.

en to it by M. N. Speransky who explained the so-called "Korsun" miracle of Kozma and Damian.

This memorial (whose Russian origin has been conclusively proved by the above-mentioned scholar) recounts that a certain man in the city of Korsun had an *obchina gostinnaya* (another transcript reads *skladba gostinnaya*). One day many came to his house and drank for seven days, and there was no more wine on the eighth. After a priest sang a troparion to Kozma and Damian, water in a vessel was turned into mead. Speransky gives conclusive proof that both extant versions of the memorial were written independently but on the strength of the same source. He says, with circumspection, that it "is scarcely earlier than the 14th century." What Speransky questioned was the "Korsun" origin of the story to which he gave two explanations: he says it was either a northern Russian legend adapted in Korsun (Khersones) or a Greek one adapted in Rus.

Speransky very keenly perceived that the story of the miracle was of a northern, Novgorod origin, but it should not be insisted that the original text came from that area or that it necessarily dates only from the 14th century. It should be remembered that there were other memorials in Kiev Rus dealing with Korsun, a fact which allows us to date the "Korsun" miracle to an earlier period, and, besides, to connect it with Southern Rus, rather than with Novgorod.

Speransky identifies the *skladba gostinnaya* with the *bratchina*. That is just how the text was interpreted by the 17th-century transcriber who titled his story as follows: "The miracle of the martyrs and ascetics the Saints Kozma and Damian about the *bratchina* which was held in the city of Korsun."[1] What is of interest here is the connec-

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[1] М. Н. Сперанский, "Корсунское" чудо Козьмы и Дамиана (отдельный оттиск) (M. N. Speransky, *The "Korsun" Miracle of Kozma and Damian* [Special Printing]). Leningrad, 1928. See also B. A. Rybakov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Rus*, pp. 761-62.

tion of the *skladstvo,* mentioned in *Teshata's Agreement,* with the *skladba gostinnaya* of the "Korsun" miracle. The word *gostinnaya* is an indication of the environment in which the *skladba,* the feast, took place. The *gosti* were merchants trading in foreign lands. *Bratchina, skladba, obchina* (the carousal) was a logical sequence to the *skladstvo,* the trading partnership, provided for in a special document like the agreement between Teshata and Yakym.

S. V. Valk tried to prove that private Russian deeds were not drawn up before the end of the 13th century, and when they were it was only in Pskov and Novgorod.[1] In this case, the economy of Rus towns of the Kiev period must appear as having been extremely backward and developing at snail's pace. To prove his point Valk goes so far as to declare as forgeries some very authentic deeds. Thus, he classifies as a forgery the donative deed of Varlaam of Khutyn dating from the late 12th or early 13th century, although its authenticity rests on unquestionable palaeographic facts, which he ignores. Instead he arrives at an unexpected conclusion which clashes with the sum of reports about commerce in Russian towns of the 11th-13th centuries. The chronicles, however, contain direct proof that written commercial documents existed in Novgorod as early as 1209. These had the form of "boards" (*doski*) seized in the bailey of the *posadnik* Dmitry Miroshkinich and handed over to the prince, and "they were without number." An ancient sermon says, in part: ". . . as well as boards through which the merchants were ruined,"[2] a clear indication that these boards were documents of an enslaving nature since the sermon speaks of the expulsion of the money-changers from the temple in Jerusalem.

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[1] С. Н. Вальк, *Начальная история древнерусского частного акта* (S. N. Valk, *Initial History of Private Ancient Rus Deeds*) *Vspomogatelniye istoricheskiye distsipliny,* Collection, Moscow-Leningrad, 1937, pp. 285-318.

[2] *MSS. of Count A. S. Uvarov,* Vol. II, p. 145.

The boards mentioned in the chronicle appear to be promissory notes whose nature, however, has not been adequately explained. Some have suggested that they were tally sticks with notches on them but this is at variance with the testimony of the 15th-century *Troitsk Academic Transcript* based on an ancient Novgorod text, which reads: "And what has been left on the boards in writing goes to the prince."[1] The boards were, therefore, written documents. In Czechia *dsky* (boards) were lists of debtors in leather-bound wooden covers. This may also explain the Russian term *doski*. Similar to the Czech books they were kept by officials, in this case the *posadnik*, and were later handed over to the prince as official documents. That they were promissory notes becomes clear from the *Pskov Court Deed*, although its provisions date from the 14th-15th centuries. They served as documents for the return of goods in storage or under mortgage. In another case, the *doski* are also connected with mortgage: "And he who has a mortgage but has no *doska* for the mortgage will not be liable." Loan money without a pledge was also collected on the strength of such *doski*. The *Pskov Court Deed* differentiates between the *doski* and a *ryadnitsa*, another highly authentic written document. This is an indication that the *doski* were an imperfect written document which was becoming outdated even in the 14th-15 centuries.

The discovery of birch-bark deeds and inscriptions on wooden articles in Novgorod allows the presumption that the *doski* were written documents drawn up on wood for the sake of durability. In any case, the discovery of birch-bark deeds disproves the assertions that Ancient Rus had no writing of its own.

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 466.
[2] *Pskov Court Deed*, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 5, 7, 8, 9, 15. This is also indicated by the deed which says: "Mortgage *doski* must not be rejected"—an indication that such documents were already being contested.

Commercial transactions in Ancient Rus involved not only the mortgage of goods but also their safekeeping. In litigation involving storage *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* established the right of the party "who had stored the goods," to prove his claim by oath, it being reasoned that a favour was being done by the keeper of the goods to the owner. Witnesses were not even required when goods were placed in storage.[1]

The storage of goods or the safekeeping of money was often indicated by a special term—*sobludeniye* (*sbludeniye*).

Pechera Paterik tells an interesting story of two friends, Ioann and Sergy, who were "two men from among the great of that city" (Kiev). They concluded a "spiritual brotherhood." Ioann died, leaving his five-year-old son Zakhary in the custody (*na sobludeniye*) of Sergy. When Zakhary was 15 years old he asked his guardian for his share of the estate. The latter had to take an oath in church that "he had not taken either 1,000 *grivnas* of silver, or 100 *grivnas* of gold."[2]

Russkaya Pravda has provisions for a similar case. If a merchant was unwilling to return a sum of money given to him to invest in trade, all he had to do was to swear that he had not taken the money.[3]

Needless to say that such patriarchal practices gave rise to every sort of abuse. That is why there are such frequent reports in the records that money was kept in sealed pots in the ground. Credit operations involved great risk on the part of those who loaned money on interest or for investment in trade. Hence, the exorbitant rates of interest in the Middle Ages, when money was given out on credit, a transaction often identified with usury.

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, p. 109.
[2] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 9-10.
[3] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, p. 109.

6. MEDIEVAL CRAFTS AND COMMERCE

Handicrafts production in the towns of Ancient Rus was organized along typically medieval lines with output being regulated and produce sold in the market-place.

There was a clear line of distinction between the master and his apprentice in the medieval sense of the terms. The existence of apprenticeship is testified to by the *Pskov Court Deed,* a memorial of the 14th-15th centuries. It has the following provision: "And if a master is due to receive *uchebnoye* from his apprentice, and the apprentice should refuse, then it is the master's right to decide whether he himself will take the oath on his *uchebnoye* or it is the apprentice who is to be believed."[1] This shows that relationships between master and apprentice were regulated by law. The master was entitled to receive *uchebnoye* from the apprentice for his instruction and keep in the period of apprenticeship. The master was given the right to take the oath himself or have the apprentice do so. In other words, the law gave the master every advantage in obtaining a favourable decision.

Apprenticeship is clearly described in Ancient Rus memorials. Alimpy, the iconographer, was apprenticed by his parents to Greek masters in Kiev "to study the painting of icons." They made mosaics (*musia*), and under them Alimpy became "highly skilled in the art of iconography and was very clever at painting icons."[2] The date of his apprenticeship may be easily established because work on the great church at the cloister began in 1073. Later, in the early 12th century, we discover the mosaics of the Mikhail Zlatoverkhy (Gilt-Domed) Monastery in Kiev created by Russian masters, among whom Alimpy may have worked. What is remarkable is the expression used by *Paterik* about Alimpy being apprenticed "to study the painting of

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[1] *Pskov Court Deed,* p. 22.
[2] *Pechera Paterik,* p. 121.

icons," which corresponds to a later expression: "To send a boy to study."

Apprenticeship in Ancient Rus was no easy task, and Russians fully understood the words of Zlatostrui, which said: "The craftsman repeatedly swears to give his apprentice neither food nor drink."[1] One Ancient Rus memorial describes how the cobbler's trade was taught: the cobbler shows his apprentice how to handle the knife and cut the hide, and how to make boots.[2]

A beginner was not always able to become an independent craftsman or full-fledged apprentice *(podmasterye)*. The latter term, incidentally, was unknown in the old days and another synonymical term may have been used. The story about the building of Kholm in the mid-13th century reveals that it served as a place of refuge for *"unoty* and every kind of craftsman." The word *"unota"* *(yunota)* meant "young people," but in this case it apparently had a special meaning, that of an apprentice, because further on we find a description of the trades of the *unoty* and craftsmen who fled to Kholm. Among them were saddle-makers and quiver-makers.

It is common knowledge that medieval craftsmen stamped their articles with trade-marks to prevent forgery. Similar marks are often found on Russian-made articles. Slate cross-pieces of the Kiev period often have inscriptions on them. A cross-piece was discovered in Novgorod bearing the inscription "Martin," and another one in Kiev reading *Motvorin pryaslen*. Archaeologists believe that these inscriptions were made by the owners of the cross-pieces, but it is possible that they were the names of their makers. Craftsmen's marks in the form of signatures were made on the well-known silver *kratirs* in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod. One of them reads "Made by Kosta" and another "Made by Bratilo."

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[1] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 1, col. 116.
[2] Ibid., col. 262.

Rybakov suggests that "both vessels (or at least the later one made by Kosta) may have been 'task work' performed to obtain the title of craftsman."[1]

As was the practice elsewhere, there were restrictions on handicrafts and trade in Ancient Rus. Princes and bishops had personal charge of "weights and measures." The higher clergy strove to have monopoly rights in controlling weights and measures, regarded as the indisputable right of bishops. One of the transcripts of Vladimir Svyatoslavich's *Statutes* declares: "It was established by God from time immemorial that the bishop is to safeguard them without damage, neither reducing nor increasing them, for which he shall be answerable on the Day of Judgement even as for the souls of men."[2]

But as early as the 12th century, control over the weights and measures in Novgorod was shared by the merchant guilds and the *sotskiye* representing the craftsmen. In the early 13th century, a standard *kap* for weighing was kept in Smolensk in two places—at the cathedral and at the Roman Catholic church. If one of them were tampered with both were to be "placed into one place to equalize them." Another transcript of the Smolensk-Riga treaty, which gives these particulars, demanded that both weights be checked and "justice done" to those who had suffered from the wrong weighing.[3]

The so-called Ivan *lokot,* which was used in Novgorod to measure fabrics, was kept at the Church of Ivan Predtecha (St. John the Baptist) on the Opoki. One such *lokot* (cubit) was found in Novgorod. It is a wooden plank 15 cm. long and 2 cm. wide. One of its ends was broken off and we find a partial inscription reading: "of St. John" (svyatogo yevanos).[4]

[1] B. A. Rybakov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Rus*, p. 299.
[2] *Memorials of Rus Law*, Issue 1, p. 242.
[3] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, pp. 436-37.
[4] A. V. Artsikhovsky and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls*, p. 48.

A special tax was levied by the "weighers" who supervised the weighing of honey, wax and other commodities. In Smolensk, a similar tax was levied on the weighing of heavy commodities and on the purchase of gold, silver and silver vessels. In Novgorod, the following weights and measures were distinguished: the honey *pood,* the ruble *grivna* (to weigh silver), the wax *skalva,* and the Ivan *lokot.* The weighing of commodities was entrusted to "honest" people who were expected "to do the weighing in accordance with the right word."[1]

Mytniks, or *mytars,* the prince's henchmen, subjected the purchase and sale of commodities on the market to meticulous control. They gave official sanction to sales and purchases on the market and collected tax on behalf of the prince, naturally, without forgetting themselves. No wonder the word *mytar* was associated with the notion of *mytarstvo* (trials and tribulations) of the sinful soul in the next world and with "sly" red-tapism, obstructions and ordeals.... "What is *mytoimstvo*?"[*] inquires an Ancient Rus essay. "It is sin without shame, violent plunder, more evil than robbery; for the robber is ashamed to rob but this one robs with arrogance."[2]

7. THE IVANSKOYE STO AND OTHER MERCHANT GUILDS

It is hard to imagine the medieval town without merchant and handicraft guilds because the development of commerce and the handicrafts in the period of feudal dismemberment demanded unity among craftsmen and merchants. We are in possession of the charter of a merchant guild at the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that merchant

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[1] *Novgorod Annals,* pp. 508-09.
[*] *Mytoimstvo*—the taking of *myt,* tax.—*Tr.*
[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. II, Issue I, St. Petersburg, 1895, col. 221.

associations existed at that time. It is a different matter with handicraft guilds of which there is no direct mention in the sources. I shall, therefore, begin with an examination of merchant corporations.

The earliest association of merchants was the Ivanskoye *Sto* (Hundred) which was organized at the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki in Novgorod. Much has been written about it but the most comprehensive description is contained in an article by A. I. Nikitsky.[1]

We are aware of the existence of two versions of *Ruko-pisaniye,* a charter granted by Prince Vsevolod Mstisla-vich to the Ivanskoye *Sto* and the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki. The first version dates from the 15th century and the second has been preserved in *Troitsk Chronicle* transcribed in the mid-16th century.[2]

The latter undoubtedly dates from a relatively late period and must have appeared not before the 15th century and possibly even in the 16th, because it speaks of gifts presented to the lord bishop and the "vicegerents of the prince." It will be recalled that vicegerents made their appearance in Novgorod only in the 14th century and ruled it after its integration with Moscow. The document in question does not say that a commercial court functioned at the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki. This is not fortuitous but is an indication that the second version should be dated from a period when Novgorod had lost its independence and the commercial court was dissolved.

The first transcript lacks the above-mentioned features and should, therefore, be regarded as the earlier of the two, although it has come down to us only in a 15th-century copy which, besides, had been renovated. This gave

[1] А. И. Никитский, *Очерки из жизни Великого Новгорода* (A. I. Nikitsky, *Essays on Great Novgorod*), *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education,* No. 8, 1870.
[2] *Addenda to Historical Acts,* Vol. I, pp. 2-5. See also *Novgorod Annals,* pp. 558-60.

one of its publishers cause to assert that "the deed has come down to us only in later transcripts and with certain unquestionable alterations."[1]

The following words are sharply at variance with 12th-century facts: "The old taxes shall be collected from the merchants in the future as well: those who come from Tver and from Novgorod and from Bezhitsi and the Drevlyane and from the whole of the Pomostye." The enigmatic word "Pomostye" should be read as "Pomstye" (possibly at first as Pomestye), i.e., the area around the River Msta which empties into Lake Ilmen. The existence of Tver in the 12th century is subject to doubt because early 13th-century reports say nothing of a town in the mouth of the Tvertsa where it was eventually founded.

The authenticity of the charter was recently questioned by A. Zimin who gave its date as the 14th century, and for some reason insisted that the second version in *Troitsk Chronicle* was the earlier of the two. In the Introduction to his edition of the charter he declares flatly that "*Rukopisaniye* was compiled on behalf of Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich (12th century) although in content it is unquestionably a memorial of the late 14th century."[2] But this categorical statement is supported by a commentary which gives rise to considerable doubt. Thus, the author insists that the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki was completely razed in 1299 and that the existing church was erected in 1359. It was then, he says, that the charter of the Ivanskoye *Sto* was forged. The fact is, however, that the original church building stands to this day and there is no doubt that it is a 12th-century building.

Furthermore, Zimin notes that Vsevolod describes himself as "ruling the entire Russian land," although he had

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[1] *Памятники истории Великого Новгорода и Пскова (Memorials of the History of Great Novgorod and Pskov)*, prepared by G. Y. Kochin, Leningrad-Moscow, 1935, p. 40.

[2] *Memorials of Rus Law*, Issue 2, compiled by A. A. Zimin, Moscow, 1953, p. 174.

never been a Kiev prince. But Vsevolod had his seat in Pereyaslavl Yuzhny to which he was appointed by his uncle Yaropolk after the death of his father Mstislav ("He brought Vsevolod Mstislavich from Novgorod").[1] Vsevolod's claims are aptly illustrated by his words about ruling the Russian land. Like his father before him he hoped "to rule" the Russian land, i.e., the Kiev and Pereyaslavl principalities.

Zimin also regards as an anachronism the chronicler's report that the Cathedral of Our Saviour was built in Torzhok only in 1364. But the report in question deals with the construction of a stone cathedral in place of the wooden one that must have existed in Torzhok as in any other important town. Besides, the Cathedral of Our Saviour in Torzhok is mentioned in a fragmentary chronicle for 1329, which also speaks of the *pritvoryane** of the Cathedral of Our Saviour who kept a relic brought from Jerusalem.[2]

The rest of his commentary of *Rukopisaniye* is in a similar vein and abounds in categorical statements which frequently clash with historical fact. It is quite incomprehensible, for instance, how Zimin contrives to link Petryatin's bailey with the Catholic Church of St. Peter which stood at a distance from the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki, and so on.

It was Zimin who first called our attention to the fact that there were a number of transcripts of the charter. But his main error was that he failed to make an analysis of Vsevolod's *Rukopisaniye* as a whole and concentrated only on the anachronisms in the text. But the very fact that there are two versions of *Rukopisaniye* is an indication that amendments and addenda had been introduced. The texts of *Russkaya Pravda* were treated similarly but that is no indication that they were forged in later times.

[1] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 212.
* *Pritvoryane*—churchmen, sextons.—*Tr.*
[2] В. Миллер, *Очерки русской народной словесности* (V. Miller, *Essays on Russian Folk Letters*), Vol. II, Moscow, 1910, p. 243.

In asserting that the Ivanskoye *Sto* Charter dates from the 14th century, Zimin ignored the fact that the commercial court "held in the square of St. John's in the presence of the *posadnik,* the *tysyatsky* and the merchants," was in operation even in 1269,[1] or long before the 14th century and the suggested construction of the church in 1364. Zimin also failed to see that the charter is closely connected with a charter of the self-same Vsevolod on commercial courts, and the very emergence of *Rukopisaniye* is inexplicable in the 14th century but is very natural for the early 12th century. It is yet to be proved that the anachronisms pointed out by Zimin are really anachronisms (such as *mordki,*[*] the merchant from Tver, and so on). It is possible that they appear to be such because of the inadequacy of the records. Thus, the few renovations we find in the charter do not obscure the fact that it is an authentic early 12th-century document.

The Ivanskoye *Sto* held the so-called Ivansky *ves,*[**] which gave them the monopoly right to weigh wax and collect dues from local and visiting merchants who dealt in this commodity. The extent and importance of the wax trade are evident from the fact that wax dealers included merchants from Polotsk, Smolensk, Novy Torzhok and Suzdal. But from the very first, the Ivanskoye *Sto* had much greater rights than the mere collection of dues for the weighing of wax.

Vsevolod's charter on ecclesiastical courts allows for the presumption that the Ivanskoye *Sto* shared with the bishop of Novgorod the right to supervise "the weights and measures, the wax *skalva,* the honey *pood,* the silver *grivna,* and the Ivan *lokot.*" The charter speaks consistently of the joint supervision of the weights and measures by the bishop and the aldermen of the Ivanskoye *Sto*. There is

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[1] *Грамоты Великого Новгорода и Пскова (Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, p. 60.
  [*] *Mordki*—squirrel skins used in Novgorod instead of coins.—*Tr.*
  [**] *Ves*—weight.—*Tr.*

every indication that this was an innovation of the 12th century since it necessitated reference to Vladimir's church charter: "It has been ordained by God that the bishop act as guardian, without foul dealings, neither reducing nor increasing, and checking the weights every year."

The Ivanskoye *Sto* was headed by aldermen. The transcripts of the charter of the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki, which have come down to us, contain an obscure sentence which prevents us from discovering the number of aldermen they had. It says: "Three aldermen from the *zhityi lyudi*,* and from the *cherniye lyudi* —a *tysyatsky*, and two aldermen from the merchants." This is usually interpreted as meaning that the Ivanskoye *Sto* had six aldermen: three from the *zhityi lyudi*, a *tysyatsky* from the *cherniye lyudi* and two from the merchants. But I think that Klyuchevsky was right in asserting there were only three aldermen, of which the *tysyatsky* represented the *cherniye* and *zhityi lyudi*, the other two being elected from among the merchants.[1] This may not have been the initial arrangement because Vsevolod's charter on trade measures mentions only Vasyata as being an alderman of the Ivanskoye *Sto*, with alderman Boleslav mentioned earlier without any title. There is also mention of 10 *sotskiye* and aldermen without any indication that a *tysyatsky* existed. One thing however is clear: the Ivanskoye *Sto* was headed by elective aldermen, who played an important role in Novgorod's political life.

The Ivanskoye *Sto* had its headquarters at the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki, a sturdy building which stood until recently. Only candles and incense were kept in the church itself; its cellar was used as a storeroom with the wax being weighed on the porch. The opulence of the wax merchants' guild is emphasized by the fact that a daily service was read in the Church of St. John the

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* *Zhityi lyudi*—a class of Novgorod landowners just below the boyars on the social scale.—*Tr.*

[1] V. O. Klyuchevsky, *The Boyar Duma in Ancient Rus*, pp. 540-41.

Baptist. This was a very rare practice in Russian medieval towns and gave St. John's the status of a cathedral. Besides, June 24, the birthday of St. John the Baptist, was the beginning of a three-day cathedral feast with the bishop serving High Mass on the first day, the Yuri archimandrite on the second and the superior of Antony Monastery on the last. It may be presumed that the cathedral feast was accompanied by a *bratchina,* i.e., great carousals the memory of which has been preserved in folk tales. *Bratchinas* were long practised in the Pomor area, where certain archaic customs were well preserved as late as the 17th century. Wax merchants also performed certain social functions. They defrayed expenses for the paving of a part of Novgorod's territory adjacent to the Church of St. John the Baptist ("the *tysyatsky* to the wax storehouse and the *posadnik* from the wax storehouse to Veliky Row"). On the whole, we have here a very clear picture of a medieval merchant guild.

The Ivanskoye *Sto* was an exclusive merchant corporation. "And whosoever wishes to become a member of the Ivanskoye merchant guild shall pay the *poshliye** merchants a fee of fifty *grivnas* of silver, some *ipskoye* cloth to the *tysyatsky,* and also deposit another 25 *grivnas* of silver with the merchants of St. John's; and he who does not wish to join the merchant guild, and does not give 50 *grivnas* of silver he shall not become a *poshly* merchant; as for the *poshliye* merchants they shall have *otchina* and deposits." This naturally raises the question as to what was done with the 25 *grivnas* of silver that were not kept at the St. John's. They must have made up a special fund of the merchant guild which went for the maintenance of the church of the patron saint and miscellaneous expenses. The high initiation fees were due to the fact that a new member became a hereditary merchant—a *poshly* merchant—and was granted privileges not only for himself but also for his descendants.

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* *Poshly*—hereditary.—Tr.

It should be noted that the charter of the merchant guild at St. John the Baptist's Church on the Opoki in Novgorod was one of the earliest medieval guild charters in the north of Europe. In this connection, Doren's paper on the emergence of merchant guilds in the Middle Ages is very interesting.[1] His attention is focussed on the towns of Northern France (Saint-Omer, Valenciennes, Paris and Rouen) and Germany (Köln, Dortmund, Goslar, Stendal, Göttingen and Kassel). The merchant guild charters in these towns were drawn up in the 11th-12th centuries, the emphasis being on the 12th rather than on the 11th century. The earliest merchant guilds sprang up in Flanders: in Saint-Omer, for example, the guild charter was drawn up between 1083 and 1097; in Valenciennes this took place in 1067. They emerged much later in German towns; in Goslar, for instance, the first made its appearance only in 1200. Thus, the Ancient Rus guild charters appeared not later than those of the neighbouring German towns and even considerably earlier than some of them.

This proves that the major towns in Rus between the 9th and the 13th centuries did not lag behind their German neighbours in political and cultural development, and in that respect were on a par with the towns of Flanders.

From its inception, the Ivanskoye *Sto* was a typical merchant guild as Doren describes it: "'*Kaufmannsgilden' sind alle diejenigen dauernden genossenschaftlichen Organisationen, in denen sich Kaufleute zunächst zum Schutze ihrer speziell kaufmännischen Zwecke zusammenfinden, in denen eine genossenschaftliche Regelung und Förderung des Handels, nicht aber ein eigentlich genossenschaftlich-kapitalistischer Betrieb und prozentualer Anteil der einzelnen Mitglieder am gemeinsamen Gewinn der Zweck der Vereinigung ist; der Einzelne bleibt als Kaufmann selbständig und betreibt nach wie vor sein Geschäft auf eigene*

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[1] A. Doren, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kaufmannsgilden des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1893.

Rechnung."[1] The author notes that such merchant guilds existed only in North Germany, North France, England and Scotland, while the northern guilds in Denmark and Norway were "protective" (*Schutzgilden*) without any specific commercial aims.

The Ivanskoye *Sto* was the most powerful association among the Novgorod merchants, but the chronicles indicate the existence of similar bodies in the same town. In 1156, "overseas merchants" built a Pyatnitsa Church in the market-place; the erection of this church by overseas merchants is once again mentioned in 1207.[2] After several restorations, it stands in Novgorod to this day in a very dilapidated state. These overseas merchants were naturally members of the Novgorod merchants' guild, who were engaged in overseas trade. It is absolutely improbable that they were Germans or other foreigners, because the Pyatnitsa Church stands in the market-place, next to the Nikolo-Dvorishchensky Cathedral, near *veche* square, in other words, in Great Novgorod's civic centre.

At one time, I was of the opinion that the chronicler's report for 1165 saying that "they built the Church of the Holy Trinity of Shetitsinitsi (or Shetinitsi)" indicated the existence of a merchants' guild trading with a specific town.[3] Gedeonov likewise believed that the "Shchetinitsi" were merchants who carried on trade with the Slav Shchetin (Stettin). I think that this presumption is not sufficiently convincing as it is based on a mere consonance of the two words.

Besides, the text of the Synodal parchment transcript is

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[1] A. Doren, op. cit., S. 44.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 30, 50. It may be presumed that the building set up in 1156 was not very strong and fell apart in 1191. Pyatnitsa Church was made of wood, because it is listed after other wooden churches.
[3] *Novgorod Annals*, Synodal Kharateiny Transcript, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 146; *Novgorod Annals*, published by the Archaeographical Commission, St. Petersburg, 1879, Index, p. 54 (Shchitnaya Street).

badly mutilated, while later transcripts do not help to elucidate it.[1]

The Novgorod merchants who were engaged in foreign trade naturally needed associations for that purpose and indeed the existence of merchant guilds in Novgorod which traded with other Rus principalities and foreign countries is proved by reports that churches belonging to Novgorodites stood in a number of Rus and foreign towns. Such churches were not so much places of worship as places of storage, or counting-houses. That is why the post of watchman, so modest these days, was of such importance in the Ivanskoye *Sto* and was even mentioned in its charter. Vsevolod gives instructions that the aldermen of the Ivanskoye *Stó* took just as great care of the watchmen at St. John's as they did of the parish clergy.

We shall not be far out in asserting the existence of Novgorod counters abroad similar to the Gothic and German counters in Novgorod itself. A valuable report in two transcripts has come down to us telling of a Novgorod church in Kiev. *Lavrenty Annals* tell of the murder of Igor during the Kiev uprising in 1147 and add that the Kiev *tysyatsky* Lazar ordered "Igor to be carried into St. Mikhail's Church and placed at the Novgorod altar. There they put him in a coffin and then went to the Gora. He lay there that night."[2] *Ipaty Annals* have a similar report, but add: "That night God performed a great miracle: all the candles in the church were lit above him, and when the Novgorodites came in the morning they told about it to the metropolitan."[3] St. Mikhail's, then, was a Novgorod chapel, which stood in Podol near the market-place. The Novgorod folk must have lived nearby, else they could not have told of the

[1] М. Н. Тихомиров, *Крестьянские и городские восстания на Руси XI-XIII вв.* (M. N. Tikhomirov, *Peasant and Urban Uprisings in Rus in the 11th-13th Centuries*), Gospolitizdat, 1955, pp. 258-59.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 302.

[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 249.

miracle in the night. This proves that a Novgorod counter existed at St. Mikhail's Church in Kiev.

Similar counters operated in all major centres abroad where Russian merchants traded. At a later period, Rus counters definitely existed in Yuryev (Derpt) and Kolyvan (Revel). Each had a church whose cellars were used as store-rooms. The fact that Friedrich II extended the Russian merchants the right of tax-free trade in Lübeck in 1187 is an indication that there was a permanent Russian colony in that town.[1] Russian merchants also had a counter with a church at Visby in Gottland.

The story of a Varangian chapel in Novgorod reflects the desire of the Novgorod merchants to have counters in foreign towns. It says that the Germans from "all the 70 towns" (of the Hanseatic League) asked for a place in the centre of Novgorod to erect a chapel. When this was refused, the German envoys bribed the *posadnik* Dobrynya, who instructed them to tell the merchants and their aldermen that "if our chapel, the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, does not stand here in Great Novgorod, your churches shall not stand in our towns." The aldermen and "all the Novgorod merchants" solicited permission for the Germans to build a *ropata*.*[2]

This story has come down to us in a late version, scarcely above the 16th century, but it is of ancient origin and is based not only on oral but also on written sources. There were two *posadniks* in Novgorod who were called Dobrynya; the first was Vladimir Svyatoslavich's uncle and has obviously nothing to do with the story. The second Dobry-

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[1] Н. Аристов, Промышленность Древней Руси (N. Aristov, *Ancient Rus Industry*), St. Petersburg, 1866, p. 199.

* *Ropata*—a church of any denomination other than the Orthodox.—*Tr.*

[2] Н. М. Карамзин, История государства Российского (N. M. Karamzin, *History of the Russian State*), Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 191. Note 244; Pamyatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury, published by Kushelev-Bezborodko, Issue 1, St. Petersburg, 1860, pp. 251-53.

nya died in 1117.[1] He is the one mentioned in the episode dating from the early 12th century. The salient feature of the story appears to be the fear of the Novgorod folk of losing their right to have counters and churches in foreign towns.

We do not know of the daily routine in these Russian counting-houses abroad, but it must have been similar to that prevailing in the Gothic and German counters in Novgorod itself. Indeed, the existence of aldermen in Russian counters abroad is mentioned in Smolensk's 1229 treaty with the Germans.[2]

It is much more difficult to assert the existence of merchant associations in other Russian towns, although major towns like Kiev and Polotsk must almost surely have had them. However, the historian cannot confine himself to speculations but must needs prove his contention regardless of how fragmentary the evidence may appear to be.

We find hints at the existence of merchant guilds in Kiev in the chronicle reports about *grechniks*, who were doubtlessly merchants travelling to Rus with merchandise from Greece. It remains unclear whether these *grechniks* were Russian or Greek merchants, although Prince Mstislav is quoted as calling them "ours" ("our *grechniks*").[3] The term *grechnik* is compounded like the words *muchnik, khlebnik, voshchnik* (flour merchant, baker, wax dealer) to signify a dealer in a certain merchandise.

Similar names were given to merchants trading with foreign lands. Vasilyevsky very aptly compares the term

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 20.

[2] "A Rus is not allowed to arrest a German in Smolensk without first informing the elder; if the elder does not get satisfaction from the German, only then can he be put into custody; similarly, a German in Riga or on the Island of Gottland is not permitted to arrest a Rus." (*Russko-livonskiye akty*, p. 435; I have quoted the most intact version.)

[3] "And when the Polovtsy learned that the princes were quarrelling, they went to the falls and began to do harm to the *grechniks*; and Rostislav sent Volodislav, the Pole, with warriors, and they relieved the *grechniks*." (*Ipaty Annals*, p. 360; see ibid., pp. 361 and 370.)

grechnik with the *ruzaria* of Regensburg, who were merchants engaged in trade with Rus.[1]

Unfortunately, there is some contradiction in the use of the term *grechnik* by the chronicles. "That same year (1084)," say the *Lavrenty Annals,* "Davyd captured the Greeks in Oleshye and seized their property." The *Ipaty, Radzivil* and *Troitsk* transcripts use the word *grechniks* in place of "Greeks." Since the former is much less frequently used by the chronicles, the word "Greek" must have replaced the initial *grechnik,* and not vice versa. The word *grechnik* is also used by the *Moscow Annals* which date from the late 15th century and are based on earlier sources than the *Ipaty Annals.*[2]

Russian merchants traded in Constantinople where they had a permanent colony. Since no light has been shed on the history of that colony by our scholars, I shall dwell on it at some length, for it reveals the nature of Rus foreign trade.

Under Rus's treaties with the Greeks, Russian merchants were initially quartered in the vicinity of St. Mama's Church. There were two such churches in Constantinople; one within the city walls and the other without, on the European shore of the Bosporus. That is where Princess Olga stopped when she arrived in Constantinople and was displeased at the long wait outside the city.[3]

The fact that St. Mama's Church is not mentioned by Russian pilgrims may be an indication that they were admitted into the city proper. Between the 11th and the 13th centuries, the Russian colony in Constantinople was transferred from the unfortified suburbs to within the city walls. It is not known exactly when this change occurred but

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[1] "The word *ruzaria* is noteworthy; it is used as a term, reminding us of the *grechniks* of the Russian chronicle." (В. Васильевский, *Древняя торговая Киева с Регенсбургом* [V. Vasilyevsky, *Kiev's Ancient Trade with Regensburg*], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1888, July, p. 145.)

[2] *PSRL,* Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 88, Vol. XXV, p. 13.

[3] *Izvestia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole,* Vol. III, Issues 1-2; Sofia, 1909, pp. 261-316.

there is no doubt that it did take place. It is possible that it took place in connection with Rus baptism and Vladimir's treaties with the Byzantine emperors, when the Russians ceased to be regarded as enemies and became allies.

The site of the Russian quarter in Constantinople may be determined from the story of the Novgorod Archbishop Antony, who went to the Byzantine capital in around 1200, in any case before the city was captured by the crusaders. A transcript of Antony's account of his travels published by Savvaitov, says: "And on the way back, in the *ubol* of St. Georgy lies the body of Rus pope St. Leonty, a great man; that same Leonty made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem. . . . The Church of the 40 Martyrs marks the end of the Rus *ubol.*"[1] Another transcript, after describing the Church of St. Platon, adds: "And there lie his relics, and those of St. Ioann, the Merciful, and Boris."

The word *ubol* is a corruption of the Greek *embolos.* It was no mere accident that Antony did not translate the word, because *ubol* was not merely a Rus street but a special type of urban street in Constantinople. Heyd, who studied trade in the Levant, gives the following description of Byzantine streets: "Constantinople of Byzantine days had many streets, particularly in the livelier sections of the city, which were covered with arcades on either side of the street offering the passers-by shelter from rain and sun. The houses stood next to the arcades. Such arcaded streets were called *embolos.* Since they were particularly well suited for commercial establishments, the emperors were wont to allocate one or two such *embolos* to a trading nation so that the shops and even the houses of the merchants were partly adjacent to and partly around them. As a result, the

[1] П. Савваитов, *Путешествие новгородского архиепископа Антония в Царьград в конце 12-го столетия* (P. Savvaitov, *The Voyage of Archbishop Antony of Novgorod to Constantinople in the Late 12th Century*). St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 152-54; correction made after A. I. Yatsimirsky (*Izvestia otdelenia russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk*, Vol. IV, Book 1, St. Petersburg, 1899, pp. 223-64).

entire section was called an *embolos*, Lat. *embolum*, even if it had a large group of houses in it."[1]

Thus the term *Rus ubol* was used by Antony to denote not only the Russian colony which lived in a certain street but an entire section of the city inhabited by Russian merchants. The Rus section was located in the vicinity of the Church of St. Georgy who was revered throughout Rus. The mention of two sepulchres, those of Leonty and Boris, held sacred locally, was a sign that the Russians were firmly settled in Constantinople and had saints of their own. Leonty was obviously a Russian, but Boris is a name common both among Russians and Bulgarians. Boris, whose remains were considered intact, may have been a Bulgarian and not a Russian. The deposed Bulgarian King Boris II, whom the Slavs may have revered, lived in Constantinople in the 10th century. At all events, Antony well knew the Boris he wrote of and did not elaborate on his text.

P. Savvaitov lists a number of other topographical names connected with Russians. Thus, the Golden Gates was also known as the Rus Gates. The legend of Oleg having nailed his shield to the gates of Constantinople may be connected with this particular gate. The eastern bend for the chariots at the hippodrome was also named after the Russians.[2]

We have no details of the routine at the *Rus ubol* in Constantinople but it was unquestionably organized. This makes it very probable that a corporation of *grechniks*, merchants who traded with Byzantium, existed in Kiev.

It is very difficult to discover traces of merchant associations in towns other than Kiev and Novgorod. There is a hint at a merchant guild in Polotsk where a *bratchina* (*bratshchina*) used to be held at the Church of the Mother of God on St. Peter's Day. A *bratchina* in Polotsk is mentioned in the report for 1159 with details that allow us to

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[1] W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels im Mittelalter*, erster Band, Stuttgart, 1879.

[2] P. Savvaitov, op. cit., pp. 154-55, Note 205.

draw some conclusions about the nature of that association. Prince Rostislav of Polotsk was invited by the citizens of Polotsk to attend "a *bratshchina* at the Church of the Mother of God on St. Peter's Day." Having been forewarned that a plot was being engineered against him, Rostislav went to the *bratchina* wearing a coat of mail under his surcoat, and thus foiled the attempt.

This story reveals that the *bratchina* in Polotsk was held at the church of a patron saint—the Mother of God in this case—very possibly at the old town cathedral. St. Peter's Day (June 28), one of the great church feasts, was chosen as the occasion. It becomes evident from the message of the Polotsk citizens to the prince and his reply the following day that the *bratchina* was no common banquet. "Prince, come to us, we have something to tell you...." And Rostislav replied to the envoys: "I visited you yesterday. Why did you not tell me what you had to?"[1] This is an indication that the *bratchina* was attended by prominent Polotsk citizens with whom the prince could negotiate. Polotsk's position as a trade centre and its ties with the Baltic countries make it very probable that it had a merchant guild similar to the Ivanskoye *Sto* in Novgorod.

Nothing is known of the existence of merchant corporations in other towns. But the absence of reports to that effect does not mean anything at all, because the lack of chronicle reports about urban life in the 12th-13th centuries is a matter of common knowledge. In any case, the existence of the Ivanskoye *Sto* is unquestionable proof that merchant associations did exist in Kiev Rus.

8. ASSOCIATIONS OF CRAFTSMEN

Let us now turn our attention to associations of craftsmen. It should be said at the outset that in this I shall proceed from concrete facts rather than from theory be-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 340.

cause the former constitute the only conclusive proof in the solution of this problem.

At first glance, our sources do not contain any indications that corporations of craftsmen existed in Rus towns in the 9th-13th centuries, even if their existence may be deduced theoretically since they existed in Armenia, Georgia, the Byzantine Empire and Central Asia. The question we are faced with is whether such associations were organized in Ancient Rus or whether the latter was a peculiar sort of island among the cities of Western Europe, the Byzantine Empire, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Of course, we cannot insist that these guilds had charters and a comprehensive system of relationships between masters and apprentices, if only because guilds of this kind emerged much later. But there is sufficient ground to assert the existence of incipient craftsmen's guilds in the major towns of Kiev Rus. We should not be confused by the fact that the sources do not specifically describe such bodies. The records are fragmentary and incomplete and it was due to sheer luck that the charter of St. John the Baptist's Church on the Opoki has come down to us. It may be easily imagined that but for the charter many scholars would flatly deny the existence of a merchant guild in Novgorod.

Merchant guilds naturally arose earlier than those of craftsmen and were more widely developed, but the emergence of both was not due to mere chance but had firm root in the structure of feudal society.

We have a very definite statement on the subject by Marx and Engels: "In the towns, which were not handed down to the Middle Ages ready-made from past ages, but were built anew by freed serfs, a special kind of labour of each was his only property, apart from the small capital which each brought along and which consisted almost entirely of the most necessary handicraft implements. The competition offered by the fugitive serfs who constantly flocked to the town; the constant war of the village against

the town, and, consequently, the need for an organized urban military force; the ties of common property in a certain trade; the need for common premises for the sale of their wares—at a time when craftsmen were simultaneously traders—and the resultant need to keep out strangers from these premises; the contradictory interests of the various trades; the need to protect the trade acquired with such pains and the feudal structure of the entire country—these were the reasons why the workers in every individual trade were organized into guilds." Thus, Marx and Engels point out a number of general causes which gave rise to medieval associations of craftsmen and connect this process with the feudal structure of the country as a whole. They note that "the feudal structure of land tenure corresponded in the *towns* to corporate property and a feudal organization of the handicrafts."[1] It is clear, therefore, that the feudal organization of the handicrafts in the towns sprang from the nature of feudalism. A town without all this was something else but a feudal town.

The existence of craftsmen's associations in Rus has been studied by our scholars. My article on the subject appeared in 1945,[2] and in 1948 Rybakov published his book on the handicrafts of Ancient Rus. One of its chapters deals with the organization of urban craftsmen in the 14th-15th centuries.

The signs of craftsmen's associations are clearly evident in 14th-15th-century sources, but their beginnings should be dated to between the 11th and the 13th centuries. It is the purpose of this chapter to prove this.

The concentration of craftsmen in urban districts, which were named accordingly, was one of the reasons why craftsmen became organized. Indeed, a number of Rus

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[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, Gesamte Ausgabe, *Die deutsche Ideologie*, Einleitung, Band 5, Erste Abt., S. 40.
[2] М. Н. Тихомиров, *О купеческих и ремесленных объединениях в Древней Руси* (M. N. Tikhomirov, *Merchant and Craftsmen Associations in Ancient Rus*), *Voprosy istorii*, No. 1, 1945, pp. 22-23.

towns had places called *Gonchary*, *Kozhemyaki*, and *Kuznetsy*.* Potters' End occupied a substantial part of Novgorod and doubtlessly got its name from its permanent colony of potters. Kiev had a similar district situated at the foot of the hill, in Podol. An ancient district called *Remenniki*** lay in Vladimir beyond the town ramparts at the foot of Studyonaya Gora. A major part of Novgorod's Torgovaya Storona was known as *"v Plotnikakh."**** This later gave rise to the name Plotnitsky Konets (Carpenters' End). Shield-makers and a Shield Street (Shchitnaya Ulitsa) are known to have existed in Novgorod.

Craftsmen engaged in the same trade lived and worked in the same district. A stone slab for the throne in the Pechera Monastery Cathedral was donated anonymously, and the monks tried to find the donor "where such things are made."[1]

A study of homage crosses in Novgorod clarifies the picture as regards the concentration of craftsmen in one or more neighbouring streets. One of them is the Hildesheim cross dating from the 12th-13th centuries. It is a diptych intended for wearing on the chest. The face of the central panel has a carving of a crucifix with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle in the foreground and four angels, while its reverse side bears the images of saints. The diptych was intended for keeping relics. Myasnikov who studied it says it belongs to the 12th century and thinks that it was owned by a certain Ilya of Novgorod, possibly Archbishop Ilya. The following inscription on the rim of the upper and lower panels of the cross is of particular interest: "The Lord have mercy on Thy slave Ilya who built this cross, in this life and in the next. . . hourly and at all times. Thou art a helper to the Lyudgoshchane and all Christians. Amen."

V. M. Myashikov compares the Lyudgoshchane of the

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* *Gonchary*—potters; *Kozhemyaki*—tanners; *Kuznetsy*—blacksmiths. —*Tr.*

** *Remenniki*—belt-makers.—*Tr.*

*** *V Plotnikakh*—among the carpenters.—*Tr.*

[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 10.

cross with the inhabitants of Lyudgoshcha Street in Novgorod, and the Hildesheim cross with the well-known 1359 Lyudgoshchinsky cross of Novgorod. The latter has an inscription reading: "Have mercy on the Lyudgoshchichi who erected this cross and on me who wrote this."[1]

The mention of the Lyudgoshchane on two crosses dating from different periods is of definite interest. Stone and wooden homage crosses with images were popular in Novgorod and the surrounding area. This mention of the Lyudgoshchane on two crosses is a possible indication of the place where ornamented crosses were made. This could have been Lyudgoshcha Street with its inhabitants as an association of craftsmen living in the same street.

The concentration of craftsmen in urban districts explains the great importance of the *sto* associations in the towns in the 11th-13th centuries. The *sto* is usually regarded as a military and administrative unit, which emerged as early as the period of the princes. Grekov and Presnyakov have examined the origin of the *sto* and its significance at some length. Unfortunately, reports about the *sto* are contradictory and incidental, and it is only the Novgorod sources that give a fairly comprehensive description of these bodies. Let us then make a systematic examination of the pertinent Novgorod reports.

To begin with, the *stos* are listed in the so-called charter on street paving, a document which apparently dates from the 13th century.

The charter, available in two transcripts which are not very discrepant,[2] is a distribution of the paving dues in

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[1] В. М. Мясников, «*Иерусалимский крест» в ризнице собора в Гильдесгейме* (V. M. Myasnikov, *The "Jerusalem Cross" in the Sacristy of the Cathedral in Hildesheim*), *Zapiski Otdelenia russkoi i slavyanskoi arkheologii Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, Vol. XII, Petrograd, 1918, pp. 7-22.

[2] One edition is in a 14th-century MS. (See *Russian Antiquities*, Part 2, pp. 291-93, with a detailed commentary by D. Dubensky, pp. 294-312.) There is another edition in a mid-15th century MS. (*Novgorod Annals*, pp. 507-08.)

Novgorod and its surroundings. D. Dubensky has studied them in detail and proved that the charter fully corresponds to Novgorod's topography. It opens with the mention of the streets of the Sophia Storona and then names the share of the dues borne by the bishop ("as for the bishop—through the city gates with the *izgoys*, and with other *izgoys* to Ostraya Gorodnya"). This is followed by a list of 19 *stos*. The second half of the charter contains a distribution of the dues in Torgovaya Storona. It names the *tysyatsky*, the wax dealers, the *posadnik*, the prince, the Nemtsy and the Goty (the German and Gothic counters), as well as a number of streets.

The first *stos* listed in the charter are named after their *sotskiye*: Davyd's, Slepets', Byk's (or Bavyk's), Oleksa's, Ratibor's, Kondrat's, Roman's, Sidor's, Gavril's. The 10th and the 11th *stos* are called the prince's, and the other eight are named after localities: (Rzhevskaya, Bezhitskaya, Votskaya, Obonezhskaya, Lutskaya, Lopskaya, Povolkhovskaya or Volkhovskaya, and Yazholbitskaya).

The enumeration of the *stos* is obviously a later insertion in the street paving charter, which reads as follows: "As for the bishop—through the city gates with the *izgoys*, and with other *izgoys* to the Ostraya Gorodnya: the 1st Davyd's *sto* ... the 19th Yazholbitskaya two sections up to the Sofiane, and by the Sofiane to the *tysyatsky*." The initial text should have said: "As for the bishop—through the city gates with the *izgoys* and with other *izgoys* to the Ostraya Gorodnya ... up to the Sofiane, and by the Sofiane to the *tysyatsky*."[1] In other words, the bishop with the assistance of the *izgoys* was to pave the section of the street up to the place where the Sofiane lived, and the latter took it on from there up to where the *tysyatsky* lived. This accords with the actual state of things, for the bishop did live in the Detinets within the citadel, while the Sofiane, although subject to the bishop, lived beyond

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 507-08.

the Detinets in the *okolotok*. The *tysyatsky* was responsible for the pavement on the other side of the Volkhov as described in the charter ("the *tysyatsky*—up to the wax dealers," i.e., the Ivanskoye *Sto*).

It is noteworthy that side by side with the list of *stos*, whose territory is not defined by the charter, the latter mentions the Mikhailovtsy, Ilyintsy and Vitkovtsy, who were the inhabitants of Mikhailovskaya, Ilyinskaya and Vitkovskaya streets. On the whole, it is a motley document which does not draw any line of distinction between the territorial and administrative principles.

It is not clear either which part of the town was paved by the *stos* in question. Judging from the text, the *stos* were supposed to build the Great Bridge across the Volkhov. But why were the first nine *stos* named after persons and the *stos* from the 12th to the 19th after localities? I think that this was due to the fact that the former were urban *stos* while the latter were regional associations later summoned to help build the Great Bridge across the Volkhov.

The charter treats the *stos* as organized associations but in contrast to the streets mentioned therein they are not associated with any localities. This is also stressed by the personal names (probably of their aldermen) that they bear. Only two *stos* are called "the prince's." It may be naturally presumed that the *stos* listed in the charter were associations connected with trade and the handicrafts.

This contention is supported by the mention of aldermen in Vsevolod's charter "about church courts and people and about weights and measures." The fact that the title of the charter mentions "the people," a word often used to denote the urban population, is significant in itself.

The charter says: "I summoned 10 *sotskiye* and alderman Boleslav, and town crier Miroshka and alderman Vasyata of the Ivanskoye *Sto* and discussed things with the bishop and my princes and my boyars, and with the 10 *sotskiye* and aldermen." Vsevolod is in the act of grant-

ing "St. Sophia, and the bishop, and the Ivanskoye alderman and the whole of Novgorod weights and measures." It transpires that the merchant aldermen and the *sotskiye* have different duties, for "the house of St. Sophia is to be built by the bishops with the *sotskiye*, while the aldermen and the merchants, reporting to the bishop or whosoever of our family may be in Novgorod, shall build the house of St. John." This is a clear line of distinction between two economic centres in Novgorod. The one clusters around St. Sophia's which is being "built" by the bishop with the *sotskiye*, and the other around St. John's (on the Opoki), on which the aldermen and merchants start work after reporting to the archbishop. It was not only the merchants who were concerned with weights and measures. The *sotskiye* were also involved, apparently as representatives of the craftsmen. For that very reason, the fine imposed for tampering with trade standards was divided into three parts: one went to St. Sophia's, i.e., the bishop, the second went to St. John's, and the third to the *sotskiye* and Novgorod.[1] Consequently, the *sotskiye* were organized and were regarded as representing the town of Novgorod.

The charter reveals that a close watch was kept on transactions in the market-place and the means of exchange. The *sotskiye* took part in this as representatives of the craftsmen. This interpretation of the Novgorod *stos* explains why the charter on street paving called the first *stos* by the names of their aldermen. They were embryonic associations of craftsmen and they explain the structure of the town market, where the different kinds of wares supplied by the craftsmen were sold in designated sections. It is absolutely impossible to regard the *stos* in Great Novgorod as territorial units because they are listed side by side with the streets. "And from each end or street, and from each row two persons are to go as bailiffs,

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 485-88.

others are not to go to help them, either to court or as witnesses," says the *Novgorod Court Deed*.[1] Under Novgorod's agreement with the grand princes, the merchant went to the *sto* and the smerd to his *pogost*: "Whosoever is a merchant, he goes to the *sto*, and who is a smerd, he shall go to his *pogost*." In his account of the Novgorod uprising of 1230, the chronicler says that the property seized from the boyars was divided among the hundreds ("they divided it among the *stos*").

It was said above that in the late 15th century apart from the *stos* there was also mention of rows in Novgorod. The word *ryad* in the 16th century denoted a row of shops, hence the opinion that a Novgorod *ryadovich* was a merchant. But it is well known that medieval shops were unlike modern trading establishments. In the Middle Ages, trade was allied to the crafts and that is why an association of *ryadovichi* was simultaneously an association of craftsmen. The word *ryadnik* in Ancient Rus memorials was used to denote a common man. We find a similar situation in Asia Minor: "Every guild had a *ryad* of its own where they (the craftsmen.—*M. T.*) worked, and sold their wares."[2]

This interpretation of the *stos* as being associations of craftsmen sheds new light on certain aspects of Novgorod's domestic history. It is common knowledge that in medieval Germany, craftsmen fought in wars and in the defence of their towns. G. Below, a historian of German towns, says that "wherever the patricians succeeded in consolidating their rule, the home guard was organized in topographical units after the urban districts. Wherever the guilds held sway, they turned their corporations into mil-

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[1] *Akty, sobranniye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoyu ekspeditsieyu Akademii nauk*, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1836, p. 72, No. 92.
[2] В. Гордлевский, *Государство Сельджуков в Малой Азии* (V. Gordlevsky, *The Seljuk State in Asia Minor*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 104.

itary detachments; if a guild was not fully organized both divisions co-existed."[1] The aristocratic nature of the government in Great Novgorod and Pskov explains why their military bodies were organized in districts, i.e., by ends and streets, side by side with the hundreds.

A number of medieval crafts could scarcely have existed without being organized in guilds. For example, the builders of stone and wooden structures, fortifications, and so on, could defend their interests only by joint action.

Nestor's *Sermon About Boris and Gleb,* which dates from the 11th or early 12th century, gives an account of the building of a wooden church in Vyshgorod under Prince Izyaslav (1054-1078). The prince summoned the "chief of the woodworkers" and bade him build a church. The latter gathered all those under him ("all the woodworkers who were under him"), and quickly built the church. Izyaslav set aside a portion of his tribute to pay for the decorations: "I give them a portion of the royal tribute to decorate the church."[2] The expression "I give them" shows that the woodworkers and their chief were independent of the prince. It was a corporation with an elective head which contracted to build and ornament churches. A chance group of people could not have built the elaborate churches in Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod, Vladimir and elsewhere. They had to be skilled professionally (for instance, in woodcarving) and also to have had the rudiments of medieval schooling in order to be able to cover the walls of the Dmitry Cathedral in Vladimir and other similar churches with compositions that were of a secular and not of an ecclesiastical nature. That is why the word *drevodel* (woodworker) was used to translate the Greek and Latin "architect."

[1] G. Below, *Urban System and Urban Life in Medieval Germany,* p. 77.
[2] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb,* p. 21.

Vyshgorod also had an association of *ogorodniks*. I said above that *ogorodnya* was a section of the wooden wall around the town and was a derivative of the verb *gorodit*—to fence or wall in.

It becomes clear, therefore, that *druzhinas* or artels of carpenters and *gorodniks* were united in guilds headed by aldermen.

But we should be modernizing the whole picture if we imagined that the craftsmen's guilds of the 12th-13th centuries had the same structure as the artels of capitalist times. These associations played a major socio-political role. The fact that alderman Zhdan Mikula was apparently a participant in the Yaroslavichi Congress in Vyshgorod in 1072, when the *Pravda of the Yaroslavichi* was drawn up, is an indication of how strong politically was the guild of Vyshgorod's fortification builders. It was no mere chance either that the carpenters and *gorodniks* lived in the prince's residential town (Yyshgorod). Their guild was awarded major contracts mainly by the prince. Wooden and stone construction was greatly developed in the 11th-13th centuries and the builders were men of great skill. Contemporaries describe with praise the oaken St. Sophia's Church in Novgorod, which had 13 cupolas. They said that the wooden cathedral in Rostov would never be surpassed. Such structures required substantial expenditures, artistic taste and skill. For that very reason builders' guilds must have been under the special patronage of the prince.

Indeed, students of West-European guilds say that their emergence was closely connected with the granting of guild privileges by the emperor, the princes and other feudal lords. It should also be noted here that fortification work was under the prince's direct supervision as is testified to by the will of Vladimir Vasilkovich. We come across such associations initially in towns such as Vyshgorod with its craftsmen who did princely custom work and were, shortly before that, the prince's bondmen.

Stonemasons were similarly organized. No wonder the

people of Vladimir were teased as "stonemasons" in the late 12th century much the same as the Novgorodites were nicknamed carpenters a century and a half earlier. The stonemasons' guilds must have been under the patronage of the prince from the very first, because the erection of stone buildings, mainly churches, was expensive and was initially financed only by the princes. Indeed, the marks on the bricks of churches in Kiev, Chernigov, Ostersky Gorodets, Smolensk (Smyadyn), Vladimir-on-Klyazma and Bogolyubovo may be traced to the coat of arms of the Ryurikovichi family. This was conclusively proved by Rybakov who says that the bricks used in the building of churches "were probably made by the prince's *kholops*, who stamped them with the prince's seal."

It may be presumed that stonemasons' guilds also existed in such towns as Novgorod, where they were contracted by individuals like Antony who financed the construction of a magnificent cathedral in his cloister in the 12th century. The craftsmen of Kiev Rus traversed a way similar to that of craftsmen in Western Europe—from bondman to freeman.

It cannot be presumed, of course, that craftsmen's guilds in Kiev Rus grew into stable corporations because their development was much too short-lived and was stopped by the Mongolian invasion, which wrought havoc in Russian towns. None the less, Ancient Rus towns did have embryonic craftsmen's guilds. "The guild system," the authors of a textbook on political economy very correctly declare, "existed in the feudal period in almost all countries."[1] Rus was one of these.

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[1] *Political Economy*, Moscow, 1955, p. 49.

Chapter Three

URBAN POPULATION

1. SIZE AND COMPOSITION

It is practically impossible to determine the size of the population of towns in Ancient Rus, and only the most general statement can be made on the subject. To begin with, the chroniclers' accounts of the numerical strength of the troops mustered by the various towns are very valuable. In 1016, Yaroslav the Wise defeated the Novgorodites by means of a ruse: "He gathered a thousand glorious warriors, and, misleading them, cut them to pieces."[1] It is not clear how we should interpret the words "a thousand glorious warriors," since the word "thousand" (*tysyacha*) could be a collective term denoting a unit of the Novgorod troops. But this latter interpretation is highly improbable since the word "glorious" is used as an attribute to the word "warriors." ("He gathered glorious warriors, a thousand.") That is why the *tysyacha* should be taken to mean the numeral 1,000. The Novgorodites were not entirely destroyed, for those who remained alive were summoned by Yaroslav to a *veche*. Four thousand warriors took part in Yaroslav's campaign

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 174.

against Kiev; among them were 3,000 Novgorodites and 1,000 Varangians.

Another indication of the numerical strength of the Novgorod army dates from 1215. "All the men and the counting-houses" were captured at Torzhok, "there being more than 2,000 Novgorodites in all." Very few warriors remained in Novgorod after this. It transpires that Prince Mstislav who led the Novgorod home guard had only 500 men with him, and these he mustered with the assistance of Pskov. The chronicler draws a line between the 500 Novgorod troops and the 10,000 Suzdal warriors, saying that "there were so many warriors" from Novgorod.[1]

Both examples are indicative. In 1016, Novgorod's main force did not exceed a few thousand warriors (the glorious thousand and those who remained). Two centuries later, the nucleus of the Novgorod army was equal to about 2,000 men with an additional one or two thousand. In other words, it was roughly between three and five thousand strong. Consequently, Novgorod's population in the early 11th century was between 10 and 15 thousand, and between 20 and 30 thousand in the early 13th century. I think that these figures give an adequate idea of Novgorod's population. We arrive at similar figures on the strength of other sources. The great Novgorod conflagration of 1211 destroyed 4,300 homes, while 3,030 bodies were interred during the famine of 1231.[2] It was a "great" fire but it did not spread over the entire town. Three thousand corpses were laid in a single pit, but there were two other common graves full of corpses.

The growth of Novgorod's territory was also very gradual. In the early 11th century, the bulk of its population lived in the Kremlin and in its immediate vicinity. By the early 13th century, five of its districts were populated but its citizens did not as yet inhabit the territory which was ramparted later.

[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 53-55.
[2] Ibid., pp. 52, 70.

In the 12th-13th centuries Kiev was definitely larger than Novgorod, as will be seen from the size of its territory (Gora, Podol and other suburbs). The testimony of Thietmar of Merseburg and the chronicler's report that 600 churches were razed in Kiev are direct proof that great multitudes of people lived there. But the figures quoted above are an indication of the impression left by Kiev on the minds of foreigners rather than of the size of its population. The account of the epidemics in Kiev in 1092, given in the *Chronicle of Ancient Years* is much more indicative: "At that time, many people died from various diseases, as those who sold coffins declared: 'We sold 7,000 coffins between Filip's Day and Lent.'"[1] Thus, 7,000 coffins were sold in the space of a few winter months (between mid-November and late February). But there is nothing to indicate that the town was markedly deserted.

When Svyatopolk was preparing to launch his campaign against the Polovtsy, he had 700 men-at-arms ("I have 700 of my *otroks*"),[2] although experts believed that even 8,000 men would be insufficient to cope with the enemy.

The 8,000 men who campaigned against the Pechenegs under Prince Boris are mentioned in Nestor's *Sermon About Boris and Gleb* in a manner which stresses that this was a substantial force: "There were almost 8,000 of them, and all were armed."[3] The latter figure is indicative of the dense population in Kiev where the prince alone had a retinue of several hundred men-at-arms. It may be presumed, therefore, that the population of Kiev at the height of its prosperity reached into the tens of thousands. This was a giant city according to medieval standards and that is how it was described by foreigners.

Among the other major towns were Chernigov, both Vladimirs, Galich, Polotsk and Smolensk. Their popula-

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 141.
[2] Ibid., p. 143.
[3] D. I. Abramovich, op. cit., p. 10.

tion was practically equal to that of Novgorod. They were closely followed by Rostov, Suzdal, Ryazan, Vitebsk, Pereyaslavl Russky.

The size of the population of Vladimir-on-Klyazma may be estimated by the chronicler's report about the absence of its citizens from the town in 1175, when they undertook a campaign "with 1,500." These constituted the part of Vladimir's population which was capable of bearing arms while the others stayed behind and beat back the attacks of the enemy for seven weeks.[1]

The population of other towns rarely exceeded 1,000, as becomes evident from the small territories occupied by their kremlins, or *detintsi*. Local lore based on oral legend often tells of the flourishing of this or that town in the past. This is very often a reflection of its real importance in the past but the authors forget that Putivl or Novgorod Seversky in the 11th-13th centuries were much smaller than they are today, although they were relatively much more important. In those days, they were throne towns and not the district towns they are today. The development of the productive forces has reached such a level that a modern district centre is richer and bigger than a throne town under the princes.

Our observations of the size of the population of Russian towns are very fragmentary but on the whole they coincide with our notions of the size of the population in the medieval towns of Western Europe.

A conspicuous role was played by feudal elements: princes, men-at-arms and boyars, who were connected with the town as well as with land holdings. The emergence of urban patrician groups was of great importance to the history of Russian towns, and this will be analyzed later. But our attention is drawn first and foremost by the *gorozhane*, who were mainly craftsmen and merchants. I shall begin my analysis of the urban population with them.

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 354.

2. CRAFTSMEN—THE BULK OF THE POPULATION

Craftsmen, people connected with diverse industries and journeymen constituted the bulk of the urban population in Ancient Rus. Apart from the free artisans, the urban population included *kholop* craftsmen who were indentured to princes and boyars. *Russkaya Pravda* reveals that the *kholops* of the princes and boyars were engaged in the handicrafts and trade, but dependent craftsmen (*kholops*) made up a special section of the population and must have lived in special suburbs. Similar dependent craftsmen lived in the medieval towns of Europe, and this gave rise to interminable squabbles between the feudal lords and the towns since the dependent craftsmen offered the freemen stiff competition on the market.[1]

The words *remeslennik, rukodelniye lyudi** were used in Ancient Rus to denote people engaged in the crafts. But these terms are relatively rarely used because ancient Russian authors were wont to designate the urban population by such general terms as *lyudye, chad* or common *chad.*** The craftsmen were part of these *lyudi, chad,* and were on an equal footing with other sections of the population which was rarely broken down by the chroniclers.

None the less, some Ancient Rus records reveal the leading role played by the handicrafts as an occupation of the townsfolk. Archbishop Ilya of Novgorod addresses his clergy as follows: "Ye well know that if a man be skilled in a trade but ply it not, will he be enriched?"[2] In this case, enrichment is directly linked with the crafts.

In the *Precepts* ascribed to Kirill of Turov, the "crafts" are treated on a par with service to the prince. "Do not

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[1] G. Below, *Urban System and Urban Life in Medieval Germany* p. 199.
* *Remeslennik*—craftsman, *rukodelniye lyudi*—literally, handworking people.—*Tr.*
** *Chad*—etymologically akin to *chyand*, German—Kind.—*Tr.*
[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. III, Issue 1, col. 115.

say: I have a wife and feed children, or keep house, or serve the prince, or hold power, or ply a trade, and it is therefore not our business to read books, but that of the monks,"[1] exhorts a preacher, incidentally giving a prominent place to the crafts and classifying craftsmen among those who are in the habit of reading.

The homes of craftsmen were usually also their workshops. Archaeological finds in Ancient Rus towns are highly curious and diverse, but Artsikhovsky's excavations in Novgorod are particularly interesting. The Slavno District (including Ilya's Street) in Novgorod was the centre of bootmakers' workshops as far back as the 16th century. It was here that a 12th-century cobbler's hut was unearthed. It is 5.6 metres long from north to south, and 5.3 metres wide from west to east. It thus had a total area of about 30 square metres. It was, therefore, not a very big house. The stumps of 11 poles for the oven and the benches have been preserved in the hut. An iron latch and hook were discovered in one of the logs making up the walls. "Several thousand leather fragments and cuttings, including whole pieces, uppers, soles, belts, etc., were found in the hut and around it. A bootmaker had apparently lived in the hut," infers Artsikhovsky.

A remarkable feature of the bootmaker's hut is a *zolnik*, an instrument for removing hair fom skins. This is an indication that the bootmaker was simultaneously a tanner —an *usmoshvets*, as an Ancient Rus writer would have called him. Adjacent to the hut was a fence that ran around the yard. A cow-shed stood in the yard (a thick layer of dung was discovered on its site). Thus, cattle were an additional source of income for this 12th-century bootmaker-tanner.[2]

Artsikhovsky does not inquire into the reason why the bootmaker's hut containing cuttings and uppers was aban-

[1] *MSS. of Count A. S. Uvarov*, Vol. II, p. 70.
[2] A. V. Artsikhovsky, *Excavations of Slavno in Novgorod* (*Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 126, 128), . . .

doned. There were no traces of a fire, but the bootmaker, none the less, disappeared, leaving behind semi-finished articles in his headlong flight. This can apparently be explained by a report in *Novgorod Annals* about the terrible epidemics of 1158, when the people and the cattle were stricken with anthrax.[1] The bootmaker-tanner and his family fell victim to the epidemic and the hut was deserted.

Karger's excavations in Kiev give a different picture of a dwelling of an Ancient Rus craftsman. Dwellings of a semi-pit type were found near the Mikhail Gilt-Domed Monastery which stood on Gora. One of these (pit-dwelling III) was a small room whose size cannot be determined. Its northern wall was 3.4 metres long. If we assume that it was square it must have had a floor area of 11 or 12 square metres. Pit-dwelling VII had roughly the same area (2.9×2.45 metres, i.e., more than 7 square metres). "Considerable quantities of copper cuttings, semi-finished and finished articles found in pit-dwelling VII are an indication that it was a copper-smith's workshop. But the abundance of ceramics, grain, flour, grind stones, glassware, and other utensils indicates that it was not only a workshop but a dwelling as well."

Pit-dwelling VIII, which was the home of an art craftsman, has yielded archaeological finds of particular interest. But in spite of the art objects found in it, this pit-dwelling was as small as the others. This led Karger to the following sad conclusion: "Judging from the excavations of 1938, the mud-hut of a semi-pit-dwelling type was the main type of urban dwelling even in the biggest centre of the Kiev Land up to the 12th-13th centuries."[2]

This conclusion of the tireless investigator of Kiev antiquities had become almost canonical. And when B. A. Bogusevich voiced his doubts about "semi-pit-dwell-

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 30.
[2] M. K. Karger, *Archaeological Studies of Ancient Kiev*, pp. 18, 19, 42.

ings being the main type of dwelling among the craftsmen" the editorial board of *Kratkiye soobshchenia* of the Institute of History of Material Culture of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences hastened to observe: "There are serious objections to the assertion that the ruins of a dwelling recently discovered are of a surface wooden-type house. It is more probable that these are ruins of the wooden semi-pit and mud dwellings typical for Kiev."

Unfortunately, the editorial board ignored the fact that Bogusevich excavated Kiev's Podol where its commerce and handicrafts were concentrated. It was here that he found a "big surface house (with an area of more than 80 square metres) which had burned down. It belonged to a turner, who manufactured wooden crockery." His house had spacious cellars. It was Podol and not Zlatoverkhy Monastery that was the centre of Kiev's industries and trade in its heyday. Semi-pit- and pit-dwellings were typical for the abodes of *kholop* craftsmen. The free craftsman was comparatively well-off. The pine-log hut or *izba* of the Novgorod bootmaker and the surface house of the Kiev turner are typical of the dwellings of medieval craftsmen. I think that Bogusevich's conclusion that "semi-pit-dwellings sprang up in hard times, such as war, fire and other major calamities,"[1] is much more substantiated than the flat statement that semi-pit-dwellings generally prevailed in the Kiev Land. Had that been so, Kiev, "Constantinople's rival," presents much too pitiful a sight with its semi-pit-dwellings, so that no amount of allusions to its riches and the great skill of the Kiev artists, and so forth, would be of any avail, because skill, apart from the gift of the artist, requires a certain level of material well-being.

Craftsmen became particularly prominent in Ancient

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[1] В. А. Богусевич, *Археологические раскопки 1950 г. на Подоле* (V. A. Bogusevich, *Archaeological Excavations of 1950 in Kiev's Podol*), K. *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLI, pp. 47-48.

Rus towns in the 12th century. They made up the bulk of the *lyudi* who revolted in Kiev and Novgorod, sat and stormed at the *veche*, took part in solemn processions welcoming princes or attended their funerals, and went to war as the home guard. Of course, there were always certain numbers of strangers, *gulyashchiye lyudi,* in the terminology of the 17th century, among the urban population, but it was not they but the craftsmen that made up the bulk of the *chad*, who were already dominated by their own privileged group. This was particularly noticeable in Novgorod which had developed as a town for several centuries without interruption. It is among the Novgorod home guard that we find the craftsmen who fought gallantly against its enemies.

Novgorod citizens Gavrila, the shield-maker, and Nezhila, the silversmith, were killed in a battle with the Lithuanians in 1234. The Novgorodites Anton, the boiler-maker, and Ivanko Pribyshinich, the *oponnik*, fell in the battle at Lipitsy in 1216. What is most remarkable is the fact that the chronicler gives the *oponnik's* patronymic (Pribyshinich) and places him on an equal footing with the Terek tributary Semyon Petrilovich, whereas the other dead are only called by their nicknames (the Pskovite, the boiler-maker, the priest's son).[1] The *oponnik* must have been a highly respected man in the town since he was called not only by his Christian name but also by his patronymic.

The townsfolk who fought on the field of battle and were called *lyudi* were beyond doubt mainly craftsmen. In the battle at Lipitsy they dismounted and fought the Suzdal people on foot. "We do not wish to die on horseback, but on foot, like our fathers at Kolaksha," exclaim the men of the Novgorod home guard, thus revealing that they were not used to fighting on horseback.[2]

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 73, 57.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 472.

Armed craftsmen were a force with which the princes and boyars had to reckon in all seriousness. That is why events in the towns of Ancient Rus are reminiscent of those in medieval European towns, where the craftsmen waged a struggle against the patricians. Novgorod craftsmen even had an edge over the boyars in the first half of the 13th century.

This, of course, could have happened only in major centres where the urban population was a political force with which the princes and boyars had to reckon. Two reports in the chronicle shed light on the political role which the craftsmen at times played in town politics. In 1228, Novgorod's "common *chad*" expelled the appointed Archbishop Arseny and set former Archbishop Antony in his place, "and they appointed two *muzhi* with him: Yakun Moiseyevich and Mikifor, the shield-maker." The latter was a craftsman, who was apparently very prominent in the Novgorod events of the early 13th century. It is noteworthy, that the word *muzh*, meaning freeman, is used by the chronicle with respect to Nikifor, the shield-maker. He is possibly the Nikifor Tudorovich, whom the chronicler mentions.[1]

The office of archbishop of Novgorod was very eminent, but Antony was ill and was unable to administer the extensive economy of St. Sophia's. Yakun and Nikifor were, therefore, representatives of the town administration with the archbishop, an arrangement typical for early 13th-century Novgorod.

Apart from craftsmen, who made articles of various kinds, there were people in the towns who could be classified as craftsmen only with considerable reservations. Among them were itinerant actors and psaltery-players. There must have been a category of people, particularly in the large towns, who were journeymen or were simply impoverished. They were called *sirotas,* beggars or *ubogiye*

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 67, 64.

lyudi. One ancient Russian sermon gives a colourful description of the tribulations of a man ruined by a usurer who made him pay exorbitant rates of interest, the so-called *likhva*. Clad in rags and suffering from the bitter cold, he roamed the town in search of food.

Craftsmen, particularly the poorest among them, were fertile soil for heretical views inimical to the established church. *The Life of Avraamy of Smolensk* tells of a sermon he read to the craftsmen, an action which ired the bishop and the monks. Avraamy was not only an expert in reading the Holy Scriptures, but was also a skilful commentator. The clergy declared Avraamy to be a heretic and accused him of reading "profound books," heretical literature, possibly of a *bogomil** nature.[1]

More than a century later (late 12th and early 13th century) a heresy spread by the *strigolniki** made its appearance in Pskov and Novgorod. It was also popular among craftsmen much like the later heresy of the *zhidovstvuyushchiye.** It was among the craftsmen that the protest against the feudal system and the established church, which sanctified that system, spread.

3. KHOLOPS AND OTHER BONDMEN

Kholop craftsmen, dependent on princes and boyars, lived in the towns side by side with free artisans. Without the former our picture of the Ancient Rus town is incomplete and even distorted. Such bondmen engaged in the crafts also lived in the towns of medieval Europe. This is strikingly illustrated by the town of Bogolyubovo in the second half of the 12th century. It was built by Prince Andrei Yuryevich, nicknamed Bogolyubsky. In the

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* *Bogomil, strigolniki, zhidovstvuyushchiye*—heresies widespread in Orthodox countries.—*Tr.*

[1] С. П. Розанов, *Жития Авраамия Смоленского* (S. P. Rozanov, *The Life of Avraamy of Smolensk*), St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 7,

centre of the town stood the prince's castle, whose ruins have been preserved to this day in the form of a church with stone galleries leading to it. Workshops in which *delateli* (craftsmen) and their assistants worked, stood in the castle or its immediate vicinity. Judging from the chronicle, they were the prince's bondmen. No sooner had Andrei Bogolyubsky died than the townsfolk began to plunder his house and "the *delateli* who came to work."[1] This action against the prince's *delateli* was due to the dissatisfaction on the part of the freemen with the competition offered by the bondmen.

It cannot be even approximately estimated how many *kholop* craftsmen there were in the towns of Ancient Rus, but their numbers can scarcely be minimized. *Extensive Russkaya Pravda*, which established the wergild for the prince's men, also speaks of *kholop* craftsmen. It reveals that a princely *otrok*, groom and cook were worth 40 *grivnas,* an *ognishchny* and stable *tiun* (master of the horse)—80, a *selsky* and *ratainy tiun*—12, a *ryadovich*—5, a craftsman or craftswoman—12, a *kholopsmerd*—5 (while a slave woman was worth 6), and a nurse—12 *grivnas.* This scale of fines imposed for the murder of the prince's men shows that the craftsmen had a high station in life and were equated to the *selsky tiun*, and the nurses (male and female) who were close to the prince.

The prince's craftsmen were engaged in the prince's economy, mainly in the manufacture of arms and luxury articles. An interesting article by Rybakov describes the various insignia used by the princes. It is true that their origin has not been adequately explained, but the author's valuable conclusions appear to be well substantiated.

"The marks of royal property," says Rybakov, "first reported from the mid-10th century, were used until the mid-12th century. In the two centuries that they were used in Kiev Rus, the arms of the princes were stamped on

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 402.

coins, seals for state documents, and signet rings. They were cast in bronze and worn as badges by the prince's *tiuns*. The prince's arms were displayed on the royal standard and worn by men of his retinue on their belts and weapons. They were stamped on slabs of silver which belonged to the prince, and served as trade-marks on the prince's goods sold abroad. The prince's bondmen—potters, brickmakers, and goldsmiths—who worked in the prince's bailey engraved their implements with the prince's arms. All the prince's property—horses, apiaries and the land —bore the royal arms." Rybakov observes that the bulk of the articles with the prince's arms was found in the ancient principality seats of Rus—Kiev, Chernigov, Belgorod, Rodnya and Vyshgorod. The latter observation, like Karger's assertion, which the author quotes, that royal arms were not found on the bricks of buildings in Novgorod, Polotsk and Pskov, where the construction work was performed by teams of freemen, calls for some correction. It should be borne in mind that no detailed study of the ancient buildings in these towns had been made, and it is very difficult, therefore, to draw conclusions.

Rybakov's inference that great quantities of articles were manufactured in the economies of the princes merits every attention. It will be easily seen that the workshops belonging to the prince were mainly engaged in the production of luxury articles and the treatment of precious metals. The author's main conclusion is absolutely correct and has a direct bearing on the topic in question: "The towns flourished in the 11th-12th centuries and the free handicrafts developed substantially, although *kholop* craftsmen continued to work in the prince's baileys."[1] *Kholop* craftsmen were kept not only in the prince's baileys but also in the houses of bishops. This is the only interpretation of the chronicle report about the repairs

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[1] Б. А. Рыбаков, *Знаки собственности в княжеском хозяйстве Киевской Руси* (B.'A. Rybakov, *Property Insignia in the Princely Economy of Kiev Rus*), *Sovetskaya arkheologia*, No. 6, pp. 250-57.

carried out on the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir after a fire. The cathedral was covered with tin and whitewashed by "the servants of the Holy Virgin and our own people" and not by German craftsmen.

There were also *kholop* merchants. *Russkaya Pravda* describes such a bondman for whom his master was held responsible: "If he send a *kholop* out to trade and he falls into debt, his master shall redeem him but shall not lose him."[1] Such *kholop* craftsmen and merchants must have lived in special neighbourhoods. Semi-pit-dwellings which served as their workshops and dwellings were discovered in the vicinity of Mikhail Monastery in Kiev. Their neighbourhood lay on the aristocratic Gora, near the baileys of the prince and the boyars.

Russkaya Pravda speaks of *kholops* of the prince and the boyars and of the *chernecheskiye* (monastery) *kholops*. The monasterial neighbourhoods of the 16th-17th centuries were built up around the cloisters from time immemorial and were inhabited by *chernecheskiye kholops*. There excavations will undoubtedly reveal much that is of interest. The *kholop* craftsmen and merchants were naturally in a more privileged position than the household *kholops*, the ancestors of the menials of a later day. Ancient Rus sermons reveal the terrible plight of the household slaves. Preachers called attention to cases of suicide among men and women slaves, reproaching the slave-holders with badly clothing and feeding their *kholops*, burdening them with work and beating them. The slaves drowned themselves or committed suicide in various other ways to escape the violence of their masters. The fact that these suicides were so commonplace is perhaps the most horrible aspect of the situation. It was not the inveterate tyrant who treated his slaves in this manner, but people who spoke of the need to keep "all God's commandments" in everything else.[2]

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[1] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. I, p. 456.
[2] *MSS. of Count A. S. Uvarov*, Vol. II, p. 113.

In addition to *kholopage*, there were other forms of indenture widespread in the towns of Ancient Rus. First and foremost among these were the *milostniks*. I. I. Sreznevsky translates it as "favourite" but adds that "*milostnik* had a special meaning in Serbian."[1] *Tsar Dushan's Book of Laws,* dating from the 14th century, says that *milost* in Serbian was connected with the feudal benefice. The Russian *milostnik* was likewise a bondman. In 1136, the new Novgorod prince Svyatoslav Olegovich was shot at by the "*milostniks* of Vsevolod." The same *Novgorod Annals* say that Andrei Bogolyubsky was killed by "his own *milostniks*."[2] Andrei Bogolyubsky's servant Prokopy, a *kholop* from among the prisoners of war, a *kashchei*, is called a *milostnik* in the *Ipaty Annals*. Like the other plotters, this Prokopy was called a *parobok* by the prince. ("Thy *parobki*, prince, already fail to know thee.") It transpires that the plotters loaded the property they had plundered on the "horses of the *milostniks*" and donned "the weapons belonging to the *milostniks* of the prince." That the *milostniks* were close to the prince is made clear in the story about Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, who conferred with his princess and his *milostnik* Kochkar without consulting his other men.[3] This suggests that the *milostniks* were the prince's dependents, who received a *milost* from the prince in the form of horses, arms, and possibly land. Daniil Zatochnik uses the word *milost* in this specific sense when he says: "Every noble shall have honour and *milost* from the prince."[4]

One of the articles in *Russkaya Pravda* suggests that

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[1] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary,* Vol. II, Issue I, col. 138.
[2] *Novgorod Annals,* pp. 24, 34.
[3] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 400-01, 416.
[4] *Слово Даниила Заточника (The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik),* prepared for publication by N. N. Zarubin, Leningrad, 1932, p. 68; see also М. Н. Тихомиров, *Условное феодальное держание на Руси XII в.* (M. N. Tikhomirov, *Conditional Feudal Tenure in 12th-Century Rus*), Akademiku Borisu Dmitriyevichu Grekovu ko dnyu semidesyatiletia, Collection, Moscow, 1952, pp. 100-04.

it was not only princes but also boyars who had *milost-niks*: "One who receives a *dacha* is not a *kholop*, and shall not work for the corn nor for the *pridatok*." The *pridatok* was another term used to signify *milost*. In 1228, the people of Pskov, following their quarrel with Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, expelled from the town "those who received *pridatok* from Yaroslav." They said: "Go to your prince, for ye are not our brethren."[1]

The boyar *druzhinas* described in some reports may have consisted of *milostniks* who received such a *milost* or *pridatok*. In the late 11th century, the Kiev boyar Ratibor had a *druzhina* of his own ("Men from Ratibor's *druzhina* conferred with Prince Vladimir"). It transpires that Ratibor had "*otroks* in arms of his own."[2] The Pushkin transcript of *Russkaya Pravda*, which dates from the 14th century, makes direct mention of a boyar *druzhina* ("or in a boyar *druzhina*"). It is true that other transcripts of *Russkaya Pravda* mention the boyars and the *druzhina* separately but this does not make the variant quoted above less valuable.

Church *proshchenniks*, *izgoys*, who were under the protection of the bishop of Novgorod, should be listed among the indentured people. Among them we discover also craftsmen and merchants as well as military men. When all the *lyudi*—the townsfolk in the broad sense of the word—revolted, they were undoubtedly joined by the bulk of the *kholops* and other bondmen.

Between the 11th and the 13th centuries there was a tendency among princes to set up special urban citadels, in which their bondmen worked. Vyshgorod, near Kiev, was a typical citadel. In the 10th century, it belonged to Princess Olga and was called "Olga's city." The boyars of Vyshgorod supported Svyatopolk the Damned. Bogolyubovo near Vladimir and Smyadyn near Smolensk arose

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 66.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 158-59.

later. The chronicle compares Bogolyubovo with Vysh-
gorod, saying that it stood at a distance from Vladimir
equal to that between Kiev and Vyshgorod. The princes
were wont to erect fortifications, a palace and a cathe-
dral in such suburban castles in their efforts to dominate
some hallowed sanctuary. Vyshgorod was the repository
of the relics of Boris and Gleb, and Bogolyubovo had a
magnificent stone church although the hallowed icon of
the Virgin Mary (later known as the Vladimir Icon) was
removed by Andrei Bogolyubsky from Vyshgorod and
placed in the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir. In
1191, the sepulchre of Boris and Gleb was transferred
from Vyshgorod to Smyadyn, which made the latter "a
second Vyshgorod." A closer examination will reveal similar
royal castles in the vicinity of big towns. It may well be
that the 12th-century revival in Gorodishche near Nov-
gorod, was due to just such a desire on the part of the
Novgorod princes to have a suburban castle of their own.

4. MERCHANTS

Trade had always played a great role in the towns so
that merchants were prominent among the townsfolk in
the feudal period. Commerce was associated with riches
since an early date. One Ancient Rus memorial declares:
"And others, merchants in the town, who are rich
people."[1] The merchants were singled out as a special
group by later Novgorod records to distinguish them from
the boyars, *zhityi* and *cherniye* people but this does not
imply that the differentiation arose at a late date. *Concise
Russkaya Pravda* mentions the *kupchina*, and *Extensive
Pravda* the *kupets*, making a special provision for the fine
to be paid for their murder.

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[1] G. Y. Kochin, *Materials for a Terminological Dictionary of Ancient
Russia*, p. 165.

The words *kupets* and *kupchina* are derivatives of the noun *kuplya*, which denoted goods, a purchase, or trade in general.

In contrast to the *kupets* (a man engaged in trade), the *gost* was one who carried on commerce in other towns and foreign countries.

There were two terms closely associated with commerce which were derived from the word *gost*. The first was *gostinets*, which meant a highway along which there was constant traffic, and the second was *gostinnitsa*, i.e., a place where the *gosti* stayed, an inn, a hotel.

There was yet a third term come down from ancient times which was used to describe commercial operations and places connected with them. It was *terg* or *torg*. Its derivatives were *torgovlya, torgovishche, torgovets,* etc. It should be noted that the words *torgovnik* and *torgovets* appear in the records at a relatively late date, only in the 13th century, according to Sreznevsky, although the word *torg* is used to denote commercial operations and trading places as early as the 11th century. Later on, the words *kupets, gost* and *torgovets* forked out in their development: *kupets* and *gost* came to denote people engaged in more or less big commercial operations, and *torgovets* was applied to those who engaged in petty retail trade.

Merchants are first mentioned in Rus's 945 treaty with the Greeks, where "the *kupets* Adun" is mentioned among the other Russian representatives. Ancient Rus trade with Constantinople was very primitive. Wax, furs and slaves (*chelyad*) were the main commodities. The merchants who came to the Byzantine capital looked like warriors; that is why the treaties devote so much attention to murders, fights and quarrels between the Greeks and the Russians, although the latter were supposed to enter the city "unarmed." The hardships and dangers of the way made the merchants unite into big caravans. Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the reception of Princess Olga at the

royal court and observes that there were 43 merchants in her retinue.[1] It was the *kuptsi* or *gosti,* trading with other towns and countries, who enjoyed the greatest prestige and the personal protection of the prince. The *Concise Pravda*'s mention of the *kupchina* in its first article is noteworthy in this respect. It indicates that when the article was written, the merchants were under the patronage of the prince himself and were on an equal footing with his men-at-arms (the *mechnik, grid* and *yabednik*). The *gost*'s high station in life is clearly seen from Vladimir Monomakh's *Precepts,* in which he demanded respect for the *gosti* since the good or ill fame of the princes depended on them. His precepts are echoed in the reminiscences of Kuzmishche of Kiev about Andrei Bogolyubsky. When a *gost* came to Andrei "from Constantinople and other countries, from the Russian land" the prince was wont to send the latter to the cathedral to give him an opportunity of enjoying the sight of its riches.[2]

The 11th-12th-century merchant is very well described in the *Extensive Russkaya Pravda,* a valuable source on urban life in Kiev Rus. There were two distinct kinds of commercial operations: domestic trade—*kuplya,* and foreign trade—*gostba* ("if a merchant give another merchant *kunas* for *kuplya* or for *gostba*").

The *kupets* had the right to defer his payments if he had suffered calamities on the way: shipwreck, fire, robbery or plunder in wartime. He was held responsible only when the loss was the result of "drink," gambling or "madness." The *gosti* or strangers from other towns enjoyed priority rights in receiving bad debts.[3]

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[1] *Izvestia Gosudarstvennoi Akademii istorii materialnoi kultury,* Issue 91, pp. 47-48. The translator used a very unsuitable word—*torgoviye lyudi* (trading people)—a term dating from the 17th-18th centuries to denote the merchants.

[2] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 401. The printed edition does not have a comma after the word "countries," but in that context the latter is connected with the word "Constantinople" rather than with the "Russian land."

[3] *Russkaya Pravda,* Vol. I, p. 110.

The various transcripts of the 13th-century treaty between Smolensk and Riga reveal the merchant's eminent position in the social scale. The treaty in question was designed to protect Russian and German merchants abroad. Under the treaty, the merchants were not to be tried on the strength of the testimony given by a single *poslukh*; two witnesses had to be heard, with one of them being a relative of the accused. The merchant was not subject to trial by ordeal—a proof of innocence which could not be applied without his consent. A Russian merchant had no right to litigate with a German merchant (*latinin*) in the Rus land, or vice versa. The merchant was free to dispose of a thief he caught without applying to the civic authorities. Commercial transactions and the stay of merchants abroad under the Smolensk-Riga treaty were governed by a series of petty provisions which indicate the hardships and dangers of medieval trade.[1]

The 1189-99 treaty between Novgorod and the German towns is likewise keynoted by this care to ensure travel "without obstruction" for Novgorod and German merchants.[2]

At the same time both treaties reveal the behaviour of medieval merchants. Murder, mayhem and assault ("to smite one on the ear," "to fell to the ground," etc.) as well as wounds inflicted with weapons or clubs are constantly mentioned in the treaties. The articles of the treaty show the coarse manners of the day, the beating of married women and girls, the snatching off of *povois* (wimples) and finally the violation of women.

A Riga deed to the prince of Vitebsk, dating from the late 13th century, contains an interesting story of German commercial practices. "At that time, the Lithuanian troops were near the town," say the Riga authorities in their description of the vicissitudes of one of their merchants, "he,

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[1] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, pp. 420-45.
[2] *Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov*, pp. 55-56.

however, wished to go to the Lithuanian troops to buy wenches, and as is the custom among us, took a sword with him. He lost his way and came up to a monastery. Thereupon, three monks and a fourth man with them appeared, seized him, beat him and tore him, and deprived him of his sword by force." What is of interest here is the personality of the merchant, who left besieged Vitebsk to buy slave women in the hostile camp and was ambushed near a monastery which must have stood on the outskirts of the town.

The same document describes the extortion practised by the prince and his men-at-arms, the murder of a merchant by another during a carousal, etc.[1] The rough and primitive existence, constant danger lurking on the way and in foreign towns, are described in the *Polotsk, Smolensk* and *Novgorod Annals* dealing with foreign trade.

At an early date the merchants became a distinct social group which enjoyed great prestige in political affairs. "The boyars and the merchants rebelled" during the protracted disturbances which followed the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky. They demanded that short shrift be made of the princes who opposed Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo and whom he captured. The chronicler observes that "the revolt was great in the town of Vladimir." Vsevolod had to make concessions and incarcerated the captive princes. The fact that it was no slip of the tongue on the part of the Vladimir chronicler when he mentioned boyars and merchants side by side is proved by the story of 1206 about the sending-off ceremonies for Prince Konstantin, who was leaving for Novgorod. He was seen off by his brothers and "all his father's boyars and all the merchants."[2] Both reports have the merchants on the highest social rung, second to the boyars. The situation is similar in Novgorod, where it was pos-

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[1] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, pp. 26-28.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 365, 401.

sibly still more pronounced. Among the reports which bear this out, for instance, is the chronicler's story about the meeting between Rostislav Mstislavich and the Novgorodites in Velikiye Luki: "And he summoned the Novgorodites for a *poryad: ognishchane, grid* and the bigger merchants." The word *poryad* is an indication that an agreement or treaty was involved. This formula "*ognishchane, grid* and merchants," is used later to denote the upper classes in Great Novgorod: the boyars, men-at-arms and merchants. The merchants in Novgorod enjoyed certain privileges, among them exemption from the payment of the wild wergild.[1]

Medieval trade, which involved great risk, made the merchant not only a trader in the full sense of the word but a warrior as well. The merchants were in the forefront of the home guard, mainly because they were better armed. The Novgorodites, for instance, gave the merchants money to buy equipment for a forthcoming campaign.[2]

The peculiarities of the feudal military system explain why the merchants are mentioned side by side with professional warriors, the so-called *grid*. Their children and servants went with them on their travels. Such a caravan was relatively numerous, otherwise it would have been plundered on the way. This explains how the Pereyaslavl Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich came to capture 2,000 Novgorodites in Torzhok in 1215. Not all of them were merchants, but many were engaged in trade. Somewhat later, the same Yaroslav incarcerated in cellars and a small hut 150 Novgorodites and 15 people from Smolensk "who came to trade in his land." Naturally, not all of them were merchants, some being the children, relatives and servants of merchants.

The merchants were that section of the community from which new boyars emerged. We have the will of a certain

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[1] *Novgorod Annals* for 1166, pp. 32, 42, ibid., p. 51 for 1209.
[2] Ibid., p. 25.

Kliment, dating from 1258-68. He was engaged in commercial operations and was at the same time a landowner. Two manors with their harvest (*obilye*), and horses, and apiaries, and small villages were bequeathed by him to Yuri Monastery. Two other manors, one of which had a vegetable garden, were bequeathed to his kith and kin. He also had a flock of sheep and a herd of swine.[1] In a way, Kliment was connected with the Novgorod *Sto*. In the 11th-13th centuries, the distinction between boyars and merchants was not as pronounced as somewhat later, when the notion of family honour arose, and the boyars became landowners par excellence.

5: URBAN BOYARS

It is no easy task to discover the origin of the patriciate in Russian towns, mainly because of the lack of information. The word *boyarin* or *bolyarin* (Sreznevsky considered the latter to be mainly South Slavonic) makes an early appearance in the chronicles. Reports dating from the late 10th and the early 11th century mention *startsi gradskiye* on a par with boyars, and this marks the beginning of the history of urban boyardom. In Klyuchevsky's opinion it is the trading aristocracy that is called *narochitiye muzhi* in the initial chronicler's account of the times of Prince Vladimir, whereas the *desyatskiye*, *sotskiye* and other town magistrates within that group are called *startsi gradskiye* or "the elders of all the towns." They were a military and administrative group of elders in trading towns who came from the ranks of the merchants. Klyuchevsky's opinions were coloured by his notion that 9th-century Russian towns were "industrial" centres. Hence, his approach to the origin of the *startsi*

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[1] M. N. Tikhomirov and M. V. Shchepkina, *Two Memorials of Novgorod Writings*, pp. 13-17.

gradskiye.[1] Yushkov wrote about them in great detail and arrived at the conclusion that the bulk of the boyars sprang "from the ranks of big landowners who were not connected with the *druzhina* organization." He says that they were called *startsi* back in the late 10th century. In the 11th century, boyars came from two groups—"from the ranks of big local landowners and the men-at-arms." Later on, these two groups merged into one.[2]

Thus, we find Klyuchevsky and Yushkov going to extremes: the former insisted that the *startsi gradskiye* sprang mainly from the ranks of merchants, and the latter regarded them only as former landowners. Yushkov thinks that towns in Ancient Rus were primarily "centres of feudal rule" over the surrounding countryside. Hence Kievites, Chernigovites, and so forth, were "neither merchants, nor industrialists, but local feudal lords who waxed strong under the protection of the towns and lived in their urban baileys."[3]

Grekov believed that the *startsi gradskiye* were a special strata of the nobility. "Our chronicles sometimes draw a line of distinction between these two strata of the nobility: the boyars and the *startsi*. The *startsi*, or elders, are the so-called *zemskiye boyars*."[4] Both Grekov and Yushkov regard the *startsi gradskiye* as the elders of early Russian towns, which, Yushkov declares, were completely dominated by the feudal lords. The feudals crowd out the craftsmen and merchants in Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod and elsewhere, all the Kievites, Chernigovites and Novgorodites who laid down their lives in defence of their home towns, so that the Russian town becomes a mere "burg"—a castle. It is true that Yushkov makes a concession and allows that the *startsi gradskiye* may have included big merchants.

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[1] V. O. Klyuchevsky, *The Boyar Duma in Ancient Rus*, pp. 28, 24.
[2] S. V. Yushkov, *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus*, pp. 143, 164.
[3] Ibid., p. 135.
[4] B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus*, 1953, p. 126.

I shall now try to explain how the *startsi gradskiye* came to appear in our chronicles, in which they are mentioned in the story of the martyrdom of the Varangians: "And the *startsi* and boyars said" (983). The story of Vladimir's conferences with his boyars and *startsi* mentions them twice: "Vladimir summoned his boyars and the *startsi gradskiye*"; "And the prince summoned his boyars and *startsi*" (987); they are mentioned a fourth time in the consecration of the Church of the Tithes "by the boyars and the *startsi gradskiye*"; and the last time in the story of Vladimir's abolition of the wergild: "And the bishops and *startsi* said."[1] One is struck by the fact that this five-fold mention of the *startsi* falls within the period of Prince Vladimir's reign (980-1015). Klyuchevsky noted this and suggested that Vladimir, who was brought up in Novgorod, surrounded himself with a group of urban elders in Kiev as well. This, Klyuchevsky thought, explained why the initial chronicle mentioned *startsi gradskiye* only in Vladimir's time.[2]

There is, however, another explanation of this fact when we consider the nature of the chronicle. The text in question was taken by the chronicler from the *Discourse* about "how (Vladimir) was baptized after taking Korsun." This *Discourse* has been preserved in a transcript, which is of earlier origin than the chronicle itself. It is there that we discover the phrase quoted by the chronicler: "Vladimir summoned his boyars and the *startsi gradskiye*."[3] Indeed, *startsi gradskiye* appear only where Vladimir is involved in religious issues. This explains why the term makes its appearance only in Vladimir's time, for it was a literary term used by the chronicler and the hagiographers. That is why some transcripts of the

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 80, 104, 105, 122, 124.
[2] V. O. Klyuchevsky, *The Boyar Duma in Ancient Rus*, p. 29, note.
[3] Н. К. Никольский, *Материалы для истории древнерусской духовной письменности* (N. K. Nikolsky, *Materials for a History of Ancient Rus Ecclesiastical Writings*), St. Petersburg, 1907, p. 8.

chronicle use *startsi lyudskiye*[1] instead of *gradskiye,* to mean representatives of the people, the townsfolk at large. The latter had its own nobility, the *narochitiye lyudi,* or the *narochitaya chad,* in contrast to the "common *chad,*" or the bulk of the urban population. The term—*startsi gradskiye* then is a term which is used by the memorial in question and was not in general use in that place or period. That explains why it occurs only in accounts of Vladimir's activities.

The well-known accounts of Vladimir's feasts give an idea of the structure of Kiev's population: "And those that are to come are the boyars, and *grid,* and *sotskiye,* and *desyatskiye,* and *narochitiye muzhi.*"[2] The *grid* and the boyars are part of the *druzhina,* while the *sotskiye, desyatskiye* and the *narochitiye muzhi* represent the townsfolk. This is as yet an incipient urban nobility, which admitted into its ranks both men-at-arms and merchants.

The development of the towns led to the emergence of a group of boyars who were connected not only with the demesnes in the countryside but with the towns as well. In the 11th-12th centuries, we discover boyar families which were firmly settled in the towns. The history of boyar families has not been studied at all. An exception is Rozhkov's paper on Novgorod boyar families. Yet we discover the remarkable fact that boyar families settled in towns and gave rise to a class of urban patricians.

Let us examine some of the boyar families whose history is made more or less clear by the records. In his story of the enthronement of Izyaslav Mstislavich in Kiev, the chronicler mentions the arrest of several boyars who were supporters of the Olegovichi family. Among the arrested were Danilo Veliky, Gyurgei Prokopych, and Ivor Gyurgevich, Miroslav's grandson. Miroslav must have been well known to Kievites, otherwise there would be no sense in mentioning him to explain who Ivor was.

[1] *Lavrenty. Annals,* p. 122.
[2] *Lavrenty. Annals,* p. 123.

. Very little is known about the founder of the Mirosla-
vichi family. The chronicler reports that a panel from the
Lord's sepulchre was brought in 1134 at Miroslav's re-
quest.[1] For some unexplained reason, the publishers of the
Ipaty Annals gave this Miroslav the patronymic of Gyu-
ryatinich, thus identifying him, without sufficient ground,
with the Novgorod *posadnik*. The note for 1146 in the
Ipaty Annals also mentions Miroslav Andreyevich and
Miroslav, the grandson of Khilich, who were almost Ivor's
contemporaries. Neither of them can, therefore, be regard-
ed as his grandfather Miroslav.

The afore-mentioned Miroslav may be identified with a
Miroslav in *Extensive Russkaya Pravda*, who was a par-
ticipant in the conference in Berestovo on the eve of Vla-
dimir Monomakh's entry into Kiev. It is very possible
that the manor or village of Miroslavtsy near Kiev, men-
tioned in a list of 14th-century Russian towns, may have
been named after this Miroslav. Miroslavskoye manor
existed near Vitichev in the 12th century. Miroslav was
the founder of a rich boyar family in Kiev.

Boyar Ratibor of Kiev was a prominent figure of the
late 11th and early 12th century. He is first mentioned
in 1079, when Grand Prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich ap-
pointed him *posadnik* in Tmutarakan. Two years later, he
was captured by two princes who seized Tmutarakan.
Seals bearing his name were discovered in the vicinity
of Tmutarakan. On the face they bear an image of St. Ni-
kolai and on the reverse side the inscription "from Ra-
tibor."[2] When Vsevolod died, Ratibor entered the service
of his son Vladimir Monomakh. He took active part in the
treacherous murder of the Polovtsian Khan Itlar, when
his son Yelbekh Ratiborovich shot Itlar with an arrow.
Later, Ratibor was Monomakh's representative at the

... [1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 212.
[2] И. Толстой и Н. Кондаков, *Русские древности* (I. Tolstoi and
N. Kondakov, *Rus Antiquities*), Vol. IV, St. Petersburg. 1891. p. 172;
Ipaty Annals, p. 143.

princes' congress in Uvetichi and took part in the conference in Berestovo in 1113. The *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* calls Ratibor a Kiev *tysyatsky*.

Foma, Ratibor's son and heir, was also in the service of Vladimir Monomakh. In 1116, Foma Ratiborovich together with boyar Vyacheslav took part in the Danube campaign and in the unsuccessful siege of Derestr. Somewhat later (1121), he was *posadnik* in Cherven.[1]

The Chudin family were very prominent in Kiev. Chudin's bailey, which stood near that of Vorotislav, was well known to the chronicler in the second half of the 11th century. Chudin himself took part in the 1072 congress of the Yaroslavichi in Vyshgorod where the *Pravda of the Yaroslavichi* was drawn up. At that time, Chudin "held" Vyshgorod. The word "held" should apparently be taken to mean what it meant later, i.e., temporary control of the town as a lien. Chudin's brother was called Tuky. It seems that the entire family was of non-Russian origin and may have been descendants of the "best" *muzhi* who, under Vladimir Svyatoslavich, were settled in the towns along the Desna and other rivers from among the Novgorod Slovenes, Krivichi, Chud and Vyatichi.[2]

Chudin's son, who bore the Christian name of Ivan, took part in the conference at Berestovo in 1113.

These examples show that there were boyar families in Kiev who handed down their property from father to son. Poverty of information does not allow a more detailed examination of the biographies of the individual boyar families, but there is absolutely no doubt that patrician families existed in Kiev in the 11th-13th centuries. Among them were the descendants of Vyshata, a voivode in the last Rus campagin against Constantinople in 1043 who was taken prisoner by the Greeks. After the Russian ships were wrecked in a storm, he was the only member of the prince's retinue to stay with the warriors who were stranded on

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 204, 205-06.
[2] Ibid., pp. 128, 83.

the shore. This behaviour on his part may be explained by the fact that the Kiev home guard was a part of the army. The Kiev *tysyatsky* Yan was Vyshata's son, and the chronicler treats him as a well-known personality.[1] The comprehensive biography of Yan Vyshatich compiled by M. D. Prisyolkov is a masterpiece of historical penetration and saves us the trouble of tracing the activities of this Yan, who played a conspicuous role in 11th-century events. Yan Vyshatich's son took the monastic vow at Kiev Pechera-Monastery under the name of Varlaam. According to the *Paterik*, Yan, the father of the young novice, was first among the prince's boyars.[2]

The history of some patrician families in Novgorod is much more easily traced. I shall dwell only on the more striking of them. *Posadnik* Dmitr Zavidich died in 1118, and in 1128 Zavid Dmitriyevich, obviously his son, was appointed to succeed him. Thus, the post of *posadnik* in Novgorod was hereditary back in the early 12th century.

The Miroshkinichi were a famous boyar family in Novgorod. Its founder may have been the Miroslav who was sent by the Novgorodites as *posadnik* to Pskov in 1132. It is quite possible that he is the same person as the town crier Miroshka mentioned in Vsevolod's *Statutes*. Later, the charter granted the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki calls Miroslav a *posadnik*. In 1135, *posadnik* Miroslav went to conciliate the Kievites with the Chernigovites but failed. He died the same year.

Novgorod *posadnik* Miroshka* died in the early 13th century and was buried at Yuri Monastery. He may have been a grandson of the earlier *posadnik* Miroslav since boyar families were wont to stick to personal family names. Miroshka's children were Dmitr and Boris, who

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 171.
[2] М. Д. Присёлков, *История русского летописания XI-XV вв.* (M. D. Prisyolkov, *A History of Russian Chronicles of the 11th-15th Centuries*), Leningrad, 1940, pp. 18-20; *Pechera Paterik*, p. 23.
* *Miroshka*—a diminutive of Miroslav.—*Tr.*

played a prominent part in the history of Novgorod. Dmitr became *posadnik* shortly after his father's death. Boris had so much power in Novgorod that he once ordered the execution of a Novgorodite in Yaroslav's bailey. The 1209 insurrection in Novgorod ruled to remove the Miroshkinichi from the city. Their sepulchres were discovered under the floor of the great cathedral in Yuri Monastery, where they had their family tomb.

The relatives of *posadnik* Tverdislav Mikhailovich were the enemies and rivals of the Miroshkinichi. The salient feature of the struggle between the two families was that they sought to enlist the support of the prince but on the whole followed their own policies. In Novgorod, they had supporters and enemies. Their power was based on landholdings beyond the town limits, but they were closely connected with the town and its activities. That is why Dmitr Miroshkinich was buried in a suburban cloister rather than in a countryside estate.[1]

What we have seen in Kiev and Novgorod is true for other big towns, regardless of how scanty our chronicle reports may appear at first sight. A class of local boyars, deeply rooted in the various towns, emerged in the 11th-13th centuries. The accepted notion that a boyar was a kind of nomad who travelled from one prince to another contrasts sharply with the testimony of the records. The strife between the ancient towns of Rostov and Suzdal on the one hand, and Vladimir, on the other, becomes understandable if we accept the fact that boyar families were firmly settled in the towns and were surrounded by their possessions. Galich is a case in point. The chronicle frequently identifies the "ungodly people of Galich" with the

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[1] For details see К. Калайдович, *Опыт о посадниках новгородских* (K. Kalaidovich, *Essays on Novgorod Posadniks*), Moscow, 1821; and Н. А. Рожков, *Политические партии в Великом Новгороде XII-XV веков* (N. A. Rozhkov's *Political Parties in Great Novgorod in the 12th-15th Centuries*), Н. А. Рожков, Из русской истории. Очерки и статьи (N. A. Rozhkov, *From Russian History. Essays and Articles*), Vol. I, Petrograd, 1923).

Galich boyars. "A number of boyar estates, baileys and castles stood in the vicinity of ancient Galich. These boyar baileys and castles served as a sort of curtain around the capital of the Galich-Volyn Principality."[1]

The boyars were prominent in the economic and political life of the towns. To begin with, they were unquestionably connected with commercial operations and usury. The *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* describes a *kholop* engaged in trade with the consent of his master, if the latter "lets the *kholop* off to trade." This master was most probably a boyar who traded through his bondman. This is confirmed by Smolensk's 1229 treaty with the Germans under which the *kholops* of a "noble" (another transcript says "boyar") engaged in trade.[2] This reveals the boyar practice of trading through their bondmen who were rather free in their commercial activities in spite of their status. Some boyars, like the Miroshkinichi of Novgorod, were very much involved in usury. In the 1209 uprising, they were deprived of many *doski*, or promissory notes. Through their trade and usury, the boyars were closely allied with the townsfolk at large, particularly with the bigger merchants.

Boyar participation in the construction of churches reveals the great riches they had amassed. *Novgorod Annals* describe the building of St. John the Baptist Church on Chyudintseva Street by Moisei Domazhirovich. In 1183, Ryadko and his brother built a church in Rogatitsa. In 1188, Semyon Dubychevich founded a church in Arkazh Monastery. In 1192, a church was built in Khutyn Monastery by Alexei Mikhailovich, who took the monastic vows under the name of Varlaam. The building of churches by

[1] В. И. Довженок, *Селища и городища в окрестностях древнего Галича* (V. I. Dovzhenok, *Villages and Fortified Townlets Around Ancient Galich*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia instituta arkheologii*, Issue 4, Kiev, 1955, pp. 12-13).

[2] "And if a *Latinin* makes a loan to a prince's *kholop*, or some other good man, and he shall die without paying, he who inherits his property shall pay to the German." (*Russko-livonskiye akty*, pp. 426-27.) A draft Smolensk treaty says: "If a German *gost* gives to a *kholop* of the prince or a boyar." (Ibid., p. 445.)

boyars is particularly evident in Novgorod not because it was carried on there to any greater extent, but because *Novgorod Annals* abound in local detail. Thus, the *Paterik* tells of the participation of the *tysyatsky* Shimon, or Simon, in the construction of the Great Church at Pechera Monastery. Boyars built churches not only because they were devout Christians but also because they wished to have a place of refuge in case of fire or other calamities. The church was regarded as personal property, and this is indicated by the fact that boyars were wont to appoint priests from among their *kholops* without manumission.[1] We can easily imagine the position of such a *kholop* priest who read services in the church built by a boyar and usually situated near his bailey.

6. PARISH (WHITE) CLERGY

With the establishment of Christianity, the Orthodox clergy became a potent force in the towns of Kiev Rus. It was more or less sharply divided into two sections: the white and the black. Each of these had its own peculiarities and special privileges. The strength of the black clergy lay in its unity. As a matter of fact, it was the black clergy that made the clergy as a whole a major feudal force which rapidly amassed powerful economic means and extensive land holdings. High ranking members of the black clergy, the superiors and bishops, were prominent in politics and cultural undertakings. Superficially, the role of the parish clergy was more modest. However it was the parish clergy that was the vehicle of ecclesiastical and political ideas, although it simultaneously came under the influence of public opinion. It was the source of bitter criticism of the upper clergy and its licentiousness, and of the boyars and usurers "who ruined innocent souls." It was to them that Engels' penetrating remark about the plebeian part of

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[1] "He shall remain indentured even after being read in." (*Russkayo istoricheskaya biblioteka*, Vol. VI, p. 80.)

the clergy applies: "Of burgher or plebeian origin, they stood close enough to the life of the masses to retain their burgher and plebeian sympathies in spite of their clerical status."[1] To be sure, even within the white clergy there was a sharp distinction between the rich and the poor priests, between the priests and deacons, on the one hand, and the sextons, on the other, etc.

In order to get a correct picture of the role of the clergy in early Russian towns, we should try to estimate their numbers.

The number of white clergymen in Kiev is indicated by the figure of 600 ("near six hundred") churches on Gora and Podol affected by the 1124 fire.[2] Such a figure is almost fantastic for a single town, but it should be remembered that it includes the numerous monasterial and private chapels as well as the countless altars in the chantries, and so forth. Most of the princes, princesses and boyars had their private chapels. When on the verge of death, princesses often took the veil in their "own" churches. It well may be that the abundance of churches in Kiev gave rise to the fantastic figure of several hundreds, like the well-known Moscow "sorok sorokov" ("two score of two scores"). In any case, the number of Kiev churches ran into the hundreds.

Other major Russian towns reckoned their churches by the dozen, at least. In the terrible fire of 1185, when almost the entire town of Vladimir Zalessky was razed to the ground, 32 churches were destroyed, and 27 were burnt down in 1227 when half the town was razed by fire. Fifteen churches were destroyed in a great Rostov conflagration, while 17 churches were burnt to the ground in Yaroslavl by another fire.[3]

These figures appear to be incomplete. It seems that the chronicler deals only with the parish churches, in contrast to the 600 in Kiev, and this accounts for such a great dif-

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[1] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, Moscow, 1956, p. 45.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 278.
[3] Ibid., pp. 372, 427, 414, 423.

ference in the number of churches in Kiev and Vladimir Zalessky.

Every church was a special establishment with a staff of its own who were much more numerous than they were in Russia at a later date. The clergy consisted not only of priests and deacons, who, it should be added, were not to be found in every church, but also of sextons. The "church regulations" list the following among the churchmen: the priest, the deacon, the priest's wife, their children, "those in the choir" (i.e., the deacons, sextons and others), and the woman wafer-baker. "These are people of the church, and servants of God." The church charter of Vladimir Svyatoslavich has a similar list with a few additions: the pope, his wife, and their children, the deacon, his wife, the wafer-baker, and "those in the choir": the sexton, the scribe, and all the clergy and their children."[1] To this we should add the mendicants, who were a kind of permanent fixture at many churches (the widows, the halt, the blind), as well as several groups of people indentured to the church on a permanent or temporary basis (*proshcheniks, zadushniye lyudi*, etc.). The number of people varied greatly with every church, but almost every one of them was supposed to have several courtyards inhabited by churchmen, who made up a special neighbourhood. On the whole, the churchmen with all their children and domestics comprised a goodly portion of the urban population, possibly somewhat greater than is commonly believed. An interesting report about the preparations to arm the Novgorod home guard in 1148 gives indirect evidence about the number of churchmen in the town. The Novgorodites decided to mobilize even the sextons, who were awaiting to be ordained.[2] This act would have been absurd if there were only a few of these unordained churchmen. Actually there are reports of priests

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 478, 481.
[2] "And we shall go, every one of us; even if he is a sexton, and has already had his hair cropped, he shall go too; but he who has already been ordained, let him pray to God." (*Ipaty Annals*, pp. 259-60.)

being killed in battle. The Sarai Bishop Feognost sent the following query to the Constantinople Patriarchal Congress: "If a priest kills a man on the field of battle, is he eligible for church service after that?" Their reply was: "Not forbidden by the sacred canons." The publishers of Feognost's questionnaire note that this answer was contained in the best and earliest transcripts and was the one originally given, whereas the later versions read: "This is forbidden by the sacred canons."[1] Thus, Peresvet and Oslyabya, who fought the Tatars at Kulikovo Polye, were no exceptions among priests in Ancient Rus.

The staff of churchmen expanded for various reasons, both secular and ecclesiastic. The Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki, which served as a headquarters for the wax-dealers in Novgorod, had a permanent staff which included at least two priests, a deacon, a sacristan and the watchmen. "The churchmen of St. John" were a prominent ecclesiastical corporation on whom it was incumbent to read daily services ("to sing at St. John's daily"). Such a church must have been the centre of a small neighbourhood inhabited by churchmen and mendicants, a peculiar but almost inevitable appendage to the clergy.

The importance of a church and its clergy increased perceptibly when it was a repository of some hallowed object such as icons or relics. Belief in miracles was so commonplace in medieval times that the chroniclers are sincere in their reports about "God's mercy" or "forgiveness" granted to the sick and the halt by some holy object, since disease was regarded as a punishment. It was "forgiven" after the most ardent supplications.

We are aware of a number of churches in big towns which kept relics revered with particular devotion.[2]

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[1] *Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka*, Vol. VI, p. 138 and Note 9.
[2] Д. В. Айналов, *Судьба Киевского художественного наследия* (D. V. Ainalov, *The Destiny of Kiev's Art Heritage*), *Zapiski Otdelenia russkoi i slavyanskoi arkheologii Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, Vol. XII, pp. 23-29. I wish to make here a single correction. The author has translated the "rex Georgius sclavus" of the Latin text as "tsar Georgy, slave," whereas it should be "king Georgy, the Slav."

The Church of Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod was a place to which the poor and the halt flocked and where the sick were brought and laid at the foot of royal relics.[1]

Apart from their purely ecclesiastical functions, most of the urban churches, particularly those made in stone, were used to store goods and property in time of fire, strife and insurrection. The citizens who were accustomed to live in wooden houses willingly spent great sums to build stone churches, which served as refuge from fire and plunder.

Big churches were usually turned into *sobors*. Popes and deacons "daily" read vespers, mass and liturgies in these *sobors*. The *sobor* was headed by an "elder" who was appointed by the bishop. Priest Lazar was the "elder" of the *klirics* at the Church of Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod. Lazar's son was apparently also intending to become a clergyman and, at the behest of his father, served as night watchman at the church.

The Greek word *klir* (κλῆρος)—a body of churchmen —was used in Rus in a special sense with respect to great cathedrals, whose *kliroshane* made up an ecclesiastical association with aims and tasks similar to those of West-European chapters. That this was so was suggested long ago but merely as a thesis: "*Penes Episcopos et Metropolitas erat juxta indubitata testimonia annalium Ruthenorum distinctus Clerus, constituens sic dictum Krylos, cui in Ecclesia latina correspondent Capitulum.*"[2]

In episcopal centres, the *sobors* were under the personal charge of the bishop. But *sobors* existed at a distance from the cathedral in such towns as Vyshgorod, Belgorod and Bogolyubovo. There too the *kliroshane* made up compact associations headed by their elders. One of the chroniclers

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[1] "Since many came to the church of the saints and brought their sick and laid them in the church of these saints." (D. I. Abramovich, op. cit., p. 15.)

[2] *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, auctore Michaele Harasiewicz, Leopoli, 1862, p. 9.

calls the *kliroshane* of the Church of the Assumption in Vladimir "Luka's *chad*," after Luka, their elder.[1]

Cathedral churches were granted numerous privileges and holdings, and became clerical urban centres. The earliest report of a charter being granted dates back to 996. A *desyatina*, or a tithe, was granted to the Church of the Tithes by Vladimir Svyatoslavich to be collected from his estate and his towns. Later, Andrei Bogolyubsky granted the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir, "suburban estates with tributes, and the best manors, and a tithe of his flocks, and a tithe of his trade." Thus, the cathedral owned suburban estates and manors with the right of immunity ("with tributes") and, besides, collected dues from one in every ten fairs. Our sources indicate that cathedrals also owned "tithe towns." The Church of the Tithes in Kiev owned the town of Polonny with the surrounding volosts, while the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir-on-Klyazma owned the town of Gorokhovets.[2]

Cathedral churches had libraries which were staffed with scribes. The chronicle mentions books which belonged to the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir. The church treasury was located in the gallery (*polati*) and was regarded as civic property. The people of Vladimir were incensed when they heard that their new princes had seized the gold and silver of the Cathedral of the Assumption and got hold of the keys to the vestry. This act on the part of the princes was regarded as proof that the Rostislavichi were disloyal to the people of Vladimir, whom they treated not as their subjects but as the people of a conquered volost. That same church had a *terem* where money, books, sacred vessels and precious fabrics were kept. When a town was sacked the first thing the conquerors did

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 351. The publishers, however, place a comma between "Luka's chad" and the "kliroshane," but in their index they rank Luka among the cathedral clergy by calling him a *demestvennik* (a singer of ancient songs).

[2] Ibid. pp. 330, 340.

was to loot the church. When the Poles captured Vladimir Volynsky, they tried to break into the Cathedral of the Mother of God and failed only because the cathedral doors proved to be extremely stout and withstood the onslaught until aid came.

Besides, urban cathedrals situated in commercial towns had a purely secular function: they were repositories of weights and measures. Under the article "on civic measures," the bishop was responsible for their remaining intact. Under Smolensk's treaty with the Germans the standard weight was kept at the cathedral on the hill. The Church of the Tithes in Kiev and St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod took part in keeping the weights and measures.

The white clergy made up a substantial part of the urban population and enjoyed considerable prestige in the towns, particularly among the richer part of the community. This gave rise to a peculiar type of clergyman, a yes-man who indulged his flock. The sermon of a certain Novgorod bishop of the 12th century (presumably Ilya-Ioann) describes the Novgorod priests as conniving at such practices as bearing false witness in church (*rotitsya*). Nevertheless, the practice became widespread and was profitable to the clergy.

The close association of the white clergy with their parishioners, against a background of generally rude morals and manners, made the priests and their clergy regular participants of feasts and carousals. Even the strict bishop had no objections to priests taking part in feasts arranged by the laity, but what made him furious was the excessive drinking and the desire to get the guests drunk at all costs: "You see, there is a custom in this town to make one drunk by all means." One gets an idea of clerical participation in such carousals from the description in *Ipaty Annals* of the capture of Belgorod in 1150, at that time the seat of Prince Boris Yuryevich. When the enemy appeared near Belgorod, Boris was drinking in the gallery of the

royal palace with his men-at-arms and the Belgorod priests.[1]

The above-mentioned sermon of the Novgorod bishop reveals yet another purely mundane aspect of the white clergy's activities. It was at variance with ecclesiastical ideals but was highly typical of the behaviour of medieval clergy. The bishop hurled invective at priests who engaged in usury: "I have also heard of priests who take *rezas* (interest)." He does not wish to countenance such practices and announces strict punishment for such misdemeanour.[2]

The incessant philippics of church writers directed against the priests, who were overtly engrossed in mundane affairs, were futile. Medieval practices demanded that the white clergy be in the thick of civic activities. In the late 11th century, Metropolitan Ioann II in his canonic replies even legalized the state of things which later aroused the indignation of the strict Novgorod bishop. The metropolitan wrote that priests who attended the feasts of the laity had to accept what they were offered with dignity and benediction, departing only when dances, games, music and quarrels arose and there was "great temptation." None the less, the picture of the drunken clergyman persisted in the mind's eye of the metropolitan, who demanded that priests "desist from drunkenness" under pain of being unfrocked.[3]

This gives us a typical picture of the Ancient Rus town: numerous churches surrounded by church neighbourhoods inhabited by priests, deacons, watchmen, wafer-women and mendicants. The church was not only a place of devotion, it was also a place where public acts were certified

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 288.
[2] "Ye shall leave off these practices from this day; and he who is discovered shall be deprived of his *kunas* and shall be punished by me." А. Павлов, *Неизданный памятник русского церковного права XII века* (A. Pavlov, *An Unpublished Memorial of Russian Ecclesiastical Law Dating to the 12th Century*), St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 15.
[3] *Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka*, Vol. VI, pp. 8-9, 20.

and promulgated: the taking of oaths (*rota*), proclamations by the authorities, etc. The popes were called upon to act as witnesses (*poslukhi*) in the drawing up of wills. Reflecting the aspirations of the townsfolk, the clergy frequently interfered in major political events. When Mstislav Vladimirovich decided to swear on the cross, the superior of the Andrei Monastery and the body of the Kiev priests interfered and took upon themselves the sin of Mstislav's perjury. The latter gave in to the priests, although "he bewailed it for the rest of his days."[1] In order to get a comprehensive picture of the towns of Ancient Rus we must reckon with the white clergy as an important element of the urban population.

7. MONASTERIES AND MONKS

The white clergy, as we have seen, were in a measure allied with the craftsmen and merchants. But the black clergy, the monkhood, was the part of the clergy that lent the church its feudal features. Of course, it had its own hierarchy and contradictions, for the gulf between the common monk and the bishop was immeasurable. But it should be remembered that every monk was a member of the cloisteral community which vigorously defended their rights against infringement by the lay authorities and even the bishops.

The emergence of the monkery is traced as far back as the period of Rus's baptism. According to highly inaccurate chronicle reports, there were 70 cloisters in the 11th-13th centuries. Golubinsky says that they were distributed as follows: 17 in Novgorod, 17 in Kiev, 6 in Vladimir, 5 in Smolensk, 5 in Galich, 3 in Chernigov, 3 in Polotsk, 3 in Rostov, 2 in Pereyaslavl Yuzhny, and one each in Vladimir Volynsky, Pereyaslavl Zalessky, Suzdal, Murom, Pskov, Staraya Rusa, Nizhny Novgorod, Yaroslavl and

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210.

Tmutarakan.[1] The inaccuracy of these figures becomes evident from the fact that the very rich city of Vladimir Volynsky and Galich are shown to have had a single monastery, whereas, according to the chronicle, the Tatars in 1237, destroyed "monasteries" (not a monastery) in the small town of Moscow: Apart from the 17 cloisters mentioned in Kiev, there were others in the surrounding countryside. The foundations of a number of stone churches have been discovered in the vicinity of Galich. It may be presumed that these foundations were mainly of monasterial churches since the parish churches outside the town walls in Kiev Rus were rarely built of stone.

In the early days of the Russian church, the monkery were closely connected with the towns.

For example, Golubinsky makes the observation in his *History of the Russian Church* that urban monasteries predominated in Rus in the period before the Mongol invasion. It is only from the late 14th century that monasteries were built in North-Eastern Rus more or less outside the urban centres. In the 11th-13th centuries, cloisters were still clustered around the town walls. Evidently, one of the reasons for this is that Christianity was not very widespread at the time. Ditheism and paganism gave way to Christianity very reluctantly, while the incessant feudal wars jeopardized the security of the cloisters situated in the sparsely populated areas. The chronicles repeatedly inform us that it was not only the Polovtsy but the Russians as well who readily looted monasteries and churches. It was only when the cloisters secured landholdings and became feudals that they settled in the countryside. From then on, they exerted the greatest efforts to acquire land, thus giving rise to an ideology of monasterial "covetousness' which was sharply at variance with monachal vows and precepts.

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[1] Е. Голубинский, *История русской церкви* (Y. Golubinsky, *History of the Russian Church*), Vol. I, Moscow 1904, pp. 746-63.

The number of monasteries was directly proportional to the size and economic welfare of the town. Kiev, as we have seen, had 17 cloisters, of which the biggest was the Kiev Pechera Monastery, founded around the mid-11th century. Most of the Kiev cloisters were built by princes and boyars. Such was the Kiev Pechera Monastery, which arose near Berestovo, a favourite manor of the princes. The founder of the cloister, Antony, was visited by Prince Izyaslav, and as a consequence "the great Antony became widely known and honoured by all." However, the selfsame Izyaslav had to build a new cloister, St. Dmitry's, because he was annoyed with the independent policy of the Pechera monks.[1]

By that time, the several princely branches sought to build manasteries of their own. "Vsevolod's cloister on the Vydobych" is first mentioned in 1070.[2] It sprang up close to Pechera Monastery, possibly very near Vsevolod's suburban residence. In the 12th century, the Monomakh family had their own cloister—St. Feodor's. They called it *otny*—father's, while the Oleg family had a similar attitude toward Kirill Monastery.[3]

Convents in Kiev were also built by members of the princely family. In 1086, Vsevolod built the Church of St. Andrew together with a cloister in which his daughter, Princess Yanka, took the veil.[4] Subsequently, the cloister was called Yantsin after its foundress. The Monastery of the Assumption in Vladimir Zalessky was founded by Grand Princess Maria, wife of Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo.

The first monasteries built by prominent and rich men who were not of royal blood began to make their appearance in the 12th century. It seems that such cloisters first sprang up in Novgorod with its opulent boyars and mer-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 110, 112.
[2] Ibid., p. 122.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 324, 391.
[4] Ibid., p. 199, note. "She gathered many nuns, and stayed with them as a nun." (*Ipaty Annals*, p. 144.)

chants, although Novgorod's first big monastery, Yuri, was built by Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich who erected a huge cathedral within its walls. St. Antony's Monastery emerged almost simultaneously, and was apparently founded by a merchant. Khutyn Monastery was built in the late 12th century by Alexei Mikhailovich, the son of a Novgorod boyar.

The total number of monks in the towns was very indefinite and cannot even be estimated. But it may be said, without departing from the truth, that in such towns as Kiev and Novgorod they numbered by the hundreds, rather than by the score. Pechera Monastery had 180 monks,[1] apart from the bondmen who worked in the monastery. In the 13th century, Avraamy Monastery had 17 monks.

The *Pechera Paterik* tries to create the impression that there was complete equality within the orders, but that ideal was a far cry from reality. Stefan, the second superior of Pechera Monastery, was forced to leave the cloister because the monks rebelled against him and expelled him without allowing him to take his property. The *Paterik* describes the dissatisfied and ambitious monk who is meek one day and "furious and angry" the next. He keeps his peace for a short while and then resumes his grumbling against the superior.

The *Pechera Paterik* gives us the best account of the structure of the monastic order. The only fact it reports about Antony, the founder of the monastery, is that he was a pious man from the town of Lyubech.[2] But he was no commoner, since he undertook a long voyage to the Athos which involved considerable expenditure. We learn much more about Superior Feodosy. His parents were nobles from Kursk. Feodosy went "with his slaves to the manor to work with great diligence." Nikola Svyatosha, the son of the Chernigov Prince Davyd Svyatoslavich, was among

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 201.
[2] Ibid., pp. 57, 73, 11.

the most renowned members of Pechera Monastery. It was in the lifetime of Superior Feodosy that the monastic vows were taken by the boyar Varlaam, the son of the boyar Ioann, "who was the first boyar of the prince." Yefrem, who was "beloved of the prince and was his right-hand man," entered the cloister at the same time. Friar Erazm possessed great riches which he spent on decorating the church. Arefa, another monk, kept great riches in his cell and was a notorious miser. Moisei Ugrin, whose touching and woeful tale is told in the *Paterik,* was a favourite of Prince Boris, who was murdered at the order of Svyatopolk. Isaaky Zatvornik hailed from Toropets, where he was a rich merchant before he took the monastic vows. Finally, Nikon, the monk, was "one of the great men in the town."[1]

Even these scanty reports show that there was a considerable number of former nobles and rich men among the monks of Pechera Monastery. It may be presumed at least that it was these men who headed the monkery and guided its activities.

The situation was similar in the Novgorod monkeries. Antony Rimlyanin was the founder of the famous St. Antony's Monastery. The byname "Rimlyanin"* could scarcely have meant that Antony actually came from Rome. It may have appeared later, or could have been an old legend. The Novgorod memorials of the 12th-13th centuries sometimes used the words "Roman country" to designate a country in which Catholicism held sway. Thus, the *Life of Alexander Nevsky* even calls Birger a king "of the Roman parts." But what is beyond doubt is that Antony was a very rich man, because it took him only a short time to build a big stone cathedral and then a stone refectory in the cloister he founded. Antony's will reveals that the monastery was built without any assistance from either the prince or the bishop: "I did not accept any property either

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 11, 17, 83, 23, 24, 86-87, 88, 102, 106, 128, 79.
* *Rim*—Rome.—Tr.

from the prince or from the bishop."[1] Varlaam, the founder of another well-known cloister in Novgorod, was the son of the boyar Mikhail (Mikhal). Before taking the vows he was called Alexa Mikhailovich.

The general tendency in Russian monasteries to induct rich monks with an eye to their contributions explains why the aristocratic section of the monkery enjoyed such prestige in the cloisters.

In Novgorod, the monachal aristocracy was concentrated at Khutyn Monastery, whose founder, Varlaam, was a childhood friend of the boyar Dobrynya Yadreikovich ("his coeval"). The latter was not only a rich noble but was also a scholar who described his voyage to Constantinople, which he visited in 1204, shortly before it was sacked by the crusaders. Later, Dobrynya took the vows at Khutyn Monastery under the name of Antony. He subsequently became the archbishop of Novgorod. Proksha Malyshevich, who became friar Porfiry, and his brother Fyodor took the monastic vows in that same cloister. The Novgorod *tysyatsky* Vyacheslav, the son of Proksha, also took the vows at Khutyn Monastery,[2] which in the early 13th century was active in defence of the interests of the big boyars. Arseny, who was twice appointed archbishop of Novgorod and who aroused the hatred of the "common *chad*," was also a former Khutyn monk.

The close ties existing between the monkery and the aristocracy were evident in many cloisters. Superior Stefan, who was expelled from Pechera Monastery, immediately secured the support of many boyars who "gave him from their estates what he needed for himself and for other purposes."[3]

The *Paterik* tells of the assistance extended to Pechera Monastery by some "lovers of Christ." Barrels of wine and

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[1] *Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov*, p. 160.

[2] В. О. Ключевский, *Древнерусские жития святых как исторический источник* (V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Ancient Rus Hagiography as a Historical Source*), Moscow, 1871, pp. 59-61.

[3] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 57.

oil, cartloads of grain, cheeses, fish, peas and millet, and vats of honey, contributed by the gentry, were frequently seen entering the cloister gates. The cenoby in Rus was just as aristocratic as that of medieval Catholic Europe. It was not the retreat for hermits it was made out to be.

The upper layers of the cenoby, in which such a prominent role was played by aristocrats, constantly supplied dignitaries for the church hierarchy. In the early 13th century, one of the monks of Pechera Monastery asserted with pride that "many bishops were appointed from that monastery of the Virgin Mary." According to his list, which is unquestionably incomplete, 15 bishops came from the ranks of the Pechera monkery within the relatively short period of one and a half or two centuries. Among them were such famous people as Metropolitan Ilarion, the Pereyaslavl bishop Yefrem, the Rostov bishops Leonty and Isaiya, the Novgorod bishop Nifont, and the Chernigov bishop Feoktist.[1] It should be borne in mind, however, that the incumbency of an episcopal cathedra in Ancient Rus involved the expenditure of large sums of money which often came to as much as 100 *grivnas* of silver. That is why Ancient Rus literature abounds in invective against "conceited people" who sought fame "from man rather than from God." Simony is a frequent topic in Ancient Rus MSS.

Monasteries began to acquire real estate at an early date. In the lifetime of Feodosy, its founder, Kiev Pechera Monastery already possessed manors and villages. The administrators of monasterial estates were *tiuns* and servants, a fact made clear by Feodosy's instructions on his deathbed as reported by the *Pechera Paterik:* "He then ordered the fraternity to be gathered, including those who were in the manors or away on some other job, and having gathered all, gave instructions to his servitors as to how they should each of them do their duty."[2]

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 75-76.
[2] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

The monks engaged in a number of handicrafts and offered the local craftsmen stiff competition in the local markets. There were craftsmen among the monks of Pechera Monastery. The transcribing of books was a permanent occupation among its monks. The *Paterik* singles out friar Ilarion who was "skilled in the writing of books." Among other famous Pechera monks were the iconographer Alimpy, who learned his art from the Greeks, the physician Agapit, and others.

But even at that time, the bulk of monasterial wealth consisted of land holdings and pecuniary contributions. Monetary contributions at the reading in of novices apparently became a tradition almost with the appearance of monkeries in Rus. Nestor tells a naive tale of the peregrinations of young Feodosy who, wishing to take the orders, roamed from cloister to cloister begging for admission. The monks, however, seeing an ill-clad youth and taking him for a commoner, rebuffed the neophyte.[1]

In the 12th century, the major monasteries as a rule possessed land. A typical monasterial manor is described in the donative deed of Varlaam of Khutyn, which is unquestionably an authentic memorial of the late 12th and early 13th century. Varlaam donated to his cloister "land and vegetable gardens, and fisheries and fowling grounds, and meadows." Two settlements stood on this Khutyn land. Otrok Volos and his wife, maid Fevronya with two nephews, and Nedach lived in one of them. There were six horses and a cow in that village. The other village with its Church of St. Georgy stood on the Sludnitsa.[2] The princes were wont to donate to the monasteries manors and whole volosts "with tributes, and wergild, and *prodazhas.*"[3]

Some of the cloisters began to extend their holdings beyond the limits of their towns and even principalities, and

[1] Ibid., p. 20.
[2] *Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov*, pp. 161-62.
[3] Ibid., p. 140.

to set up their own baileys and church branches. Thus, Pechera Monastery in Kiev owned a bailey in Suzdal. In vain do the authors of the index to the *Ipaty Annals* believe that the bailey belonged to some Pechera Monastery in Suzdal itself, for it was owned by the Pechera Monastery of Kiev to which it was donated "even with manors" by the Bishop Yefrem of Suzdal, who was a neophyte at the Kiev cloister.

In the 12th century, the death of Gleb Vseslavich's widow was marked, the chronicle reveals, by an enormous contribution of land and money to Pechera Monastery. Her father, Yaropolk Izyaslavich, who died in 1087, gave the monastery the volosts of Nebl, Derevskaya and Lutsk, and those "near Kiev." Gleb himself together with his princess donated to the monastery 600 *grivnas* of silver and 50 *grivnas* of gold. When he died, the princess gave the cloister another 100 *grivnas* of silver, bequeathing to it five manors "with *chelyad,* and everything even unto the *povoi*."[1]

Disputes would often flare up between the cloisters for the possession of some church or sanctuary. The chronicler hurls invective at the Pechera monks, who succeeded in winning "through great sin and wrong" a litigation over the Church of St. Dmitry.[2]

The potent effect which the monkery had on all sections of the community was largely due to the cloisters having been the centres of writing and learning. A more or less rich monastery usually had a good library. It was there that scribes who were engaged in transcribing books got their initial training. They were also the source of literary memorials such as hagiographies, lays and chronicles. Of course, the art of writing in Ancient Rus was not monopolized by the clergy, but the writing of books was a labour-consuming process and demanded particular attention and much time. Besides, the materials used in writing (parch-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 166, 338.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals,* p. 284.

ment, ink and paints) were much too expensive for the art to have become very popular. That is why the transcription of books and the composition of literary memorials was largely the work of the clergy, and primarily the monkery. The Pechera Monastery was famed for this and produced a few talented men of letters. A number of sermons and discourses which have been preserved in MSS. are ascribed to Feodosy, its founder. Nestor, traditionally known as "the Chronicler" and the author of the *Chronicle of Ancient Years,* the greatest historical work of the Kiev Rus period, calls himself a pupil of Feodosy. Bishop Simon of Vladimir and friar Polikarp, whose writings are included in the *Pechera Paterik,* were also trained at Pechera Monastery in the early 13th century. One may even say that Pechera Monastery produced a literary school, which had a powerful effect on the literature of Kiev Rus.

There was yet another literary centre at Kiev. It was the Vydubitsky Monastery which tried to be independent in the 12th century. Silvester, its superior, was rather successful in his reproduction of *Chronicle of Ancient Years* compiled at Pechera Monastery. It immortalized his name and earned him the title of Silvester the Great as early as the 16th century. This literary tradition prevailed at Vydubitsky Monastery at least until the early 13th century, according to the naive but highly curious *Discourse About the Laying of a Stone Wall Under the Church of St. Mikhail in Vydubitsky Monastery.*[1]

Other monasteries had their own writers. Yuri Monastery was a major cultural centre in Novgorod. The monk Kirik was a famous Novgorod scholar renowned for his *Inquiry* and paschal calculations. Khutyn Monastery produced Antony, who wrote an account of his voyage to Constantinople. The well-known Kliment Smolyatich came from Zarub Monastery which was also of some literary importance in the 12th century.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 474 et seq.

Many of our chronicles were written by monks. Their part in this work was so great that many of the chronicle reports and stories have retained a rather monkish tenor, particularly those in the *Lavrenty Annals* of the second half of the 12th century.

The monasteries had libraries which were staffed with scribes. The cathedral at the Kiev Pechera Monastery had a collection of Greek books brought there, according to legend, by the architects who erected that remarkable 11th-century memorial. Greek books were kept in the galleries, where the libraries were usually organized. The *Life of Avraamy of Smolensk* hints at the existence of a relatively rich library at his cloister.

Naturally, the Ancient Rus cloister was not entirely detached from the townsfolk. *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik* presents a striking picture of the monk steeped in the vanity of the world. "Many," he declares, "after leaving the world return to it, like a cur to its retchings; like whining curs, they attend the manors and houses of the powers that be. Wherever weddings and feasts occur, there you will find monks and nuns, and every kind of lawlessness; they look like angels, but their souls are corrupt; they wear the cloth but are obscene in their practices."[1] There is scarcely need to elaborate on the greed of the monkery and its craving for honours and wealth, for that is common knowledge. But these discourses and sermons are of unquestionable value in that they reveal the close ties between the cenoby and the townsfolk at large. This explains why the chroniclers were so well informed of civic events. On the one hand, temporal interests often strangely combined with typically monkish reasoning and quotations from ecclesiastical books. On the other, monasterial disputations found their way into the street, as the *Life of Avraamy of Smolensk* informs us. The black-surpliced monk was often to be seen in squares and streets,

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[1] *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik*, p. 70.

while the cloisters with their stone churches stood out sharply against the wooden structures of the laity.

By that time, neighbourhoods inhabited by bondmen had emerged around the cloisters. Among them were diverse categories of people whose station scarcely differed from that of serfs. Among them we find *proshchenniks* and "*zadushniye* people." Without going into the substance of their status, rather, the way in which they fell into the feudal bondage of the churchmen,[1] I wish to note the following: according to Dal *zadushye* was the alms given for the dead, while *proshchenniks* were people who had been cured and remained in cloisters and churches to work off the cure. Common *kholops* and serfs also lived in these monasterial neighbourhoods, as is made clear by the donative deed of Varlaam of Khutyn dating from the late 12th or early 13th century. These feudal churches and monasteries were veritable strongholds. The medieval "house" of the Kiev or Novgorod Sophia was a kind of feudal state.

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[1] B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus*, 1953, pp. 255-57.

Chapter Four

STRUGGLE FOR CIVIC FREEDOMS

1. GENERAL REMARKS

The student of Ancient Rus discovers a very remarkable fact—an obvious growth of the political role of the towns and their population. The chronicles abound in reports about the interference of townsfolk in political affairs. They installed their candidates on the throne and refused to lend support to others. Urban squares were the scene of stormy events, and the royal authority retreated in face of the infuriated masses. This is particularly evident in such major urban centres as Kiev and Novgorod. Had conditions been favourable, the towns in Ancient Rus could have developed into the mighty force they became in Western Europe. Such a development was precluded by an unfortunate turn of events, particularly the Tatar pogroms which brought devastation to the Russian land.

Subsequently, only a few of the towns which existed in the 12th-13th centuries remained as major economic centres. The total number of big towns in the Dnieper region even fell below the figure for the 11th century (Lyubech, Iskorosten, Ovruch and Pereyaslavl lost their im-

portance). It is only in the Rostov-Suzdal Land and Galich Rus that new big towns sprang up, a fact which above all others underscores the factual strengthening of these outlying lands in the 12th century.

For that very reason, a broad development of the people's struggle for their privileges is to be witnessed only in such important centres as Novgorod, Polotsk, Galich, Smolensk and Kiev. This struggle, no matter how faintly it is mirrored in our sources, is closely akin to the struggle of the townsfolk in Western Europe to set up urban communes, although it was only in Novgorod, Polotsk and Pskov that there was any development along communal lines and in a highly peculiar form.

The struggle of the townsfolk for their civic privileges against the feudal lords, who naturally attempted to establish their domination in the towns, was as a matter of course intertwined with the class struggle in their own midst, because their interests were contradictory to the extreme. It was not only the feudal lords but the merchants and the master craftsmen as well (the leaders of the community) who "enslaved the innocent" and held them in their grip with the aid of promissory notes. But the townsfolk also had interests in common which united them in their struggle against the princes and the boyars. This common bond was their desire for greater rights or at least lighter feudal duties.

We find a similar situation in Western Europe, where urban trade conduced to the development of civic freedoms. "The peoples who engaged mainly in trade required no special exceptional conditions for this, for freedom among them arose of itself."[1]

The chronicles abound in reports about uprisings against the princes, their *tiuns* and the patriciate. Summing up these reports we get a most interesting picture of the

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[1] *Arkhiv Marxa i Engelsa*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1938, p. 412.

class struggle in the towns, including the efforts of the townsfolk to secure their privileges. It is in the big towns that these developments were most pronounced.[1]

2. KIEV

Kiev was the scene of the most violent struggle for civic freedoms, for it was there that class contradictions matured much faster than elsewhere in Rus. The Kiev uprising of 1068 was the first clear manifestation of this struggle.

The events must have developed as follows. In 1068, according to the *Ipaty Annals* (and in 1067 according to the *Lavrenty Annals*), a Russian army under the command of the three Yaroslavichi, the sons of Yaroslav the Wise, was defeated by the Polovtsy on the Alta. After their defeat, two of the Yaroslavichi, Izyaslav and Vsevolod, returned to Kiev, while the third brother, Svyatoslav, went to Chernigov. The Kiev warriors fled back to Kiev "and organized a *veche* in the market-place," and demanded that Izyaslav supply them with weapons and horses to carry on the struggle against the Polovtsy. The prince rejected their demands, and the townsfolk "left the *veche* and went from the *veche* up the hill," that is, from the commercial and handicraft district in Podol to the princely castle. They plundered the bailey of the voivode Kosnyachko, whom they held responsible for the defeat. On the hill the insurgents divided their forces: some went to the prince's court, others to Bryachislav's bailey, where the Polotsk Prince Vseslav, treacherously captured by the Yaroslavichi, was held prisoner. The Kiev folk liberated Vseslav and proclaimed him prince "and

[1] For details see M. N. Tikhomirov, *Peasant and Urban Uprisings in Rus in the 11th-13th Centuries.*

plundered the prince's court, countless quantities of gold and silver, money and furs." The princes fled from Kiev. Izyaslav, the eldest, sought support in Poland and from the Pope in Rome. With foreign aid, he launched a campaign against the Kiev folk and Vseslav, who realized that his position in Kiev was untenable. He advanced at the head of the Kiev home guard against the enemy in the direction of Belgorod and fled to Polotsk by night. The Kiev folk summoned a *veche* and demanded mediation on the part of the younger brothers, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, threatening to raze Kiev and go to the Greek land. The princes appealed to Izyaslav not "to destroy the town." But the latter sent his son to Kiev where he executed 70 citizens who had taken part in liberating Vseslav from prison, "others were blinded, and still others, who were quite innocent, were killed without any investigation." Izyaslav himself entered Kiev and was met with honours. As a direct result of the uprising, the market-place was transferred from Podol to Gora. That was the last of the measures the prince took to quell the uprising.[1]

The uprising in Kiev and Izyaslav's flight took place on September 15, 1068, but it was only on May 2 that Izyaslav re-entered Kiev. Thus, the insurgent town held out for seven and a half months. Consequently, there can be no question about it having been an accidental or short-lived outburst of popular wrath. It must have been something much bigger and more organized.

The disturbances in Kiev had apparently broken out long before the defeat on the Alta. This is indicated by the chronicler's mention of some Kievites who were immured in a cellar ("let us go and set free our *druzhina* from the cellar"). Hence, the insurgents had maintained direct contact with the prisoners. The term *druzhina* in this case may be translated by the later word "comrades," since they were people united in a common cause. The con-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 118-22; *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 163-69.

siderable number of Kievites who took part in the uprising is indicated by the chronicler's report about Mstislav's reprisals, who executed "*chad* numbering 70" apart from those killed and blinded later. The term *chad* is indicative. It is sometimes used with the adjective "common."

The "common *chad*" were the people, the commoners, mainly the urban craftsmen. This may be compared with the report about the start of the uprising in the market-place where the *veche* was convened. After their *veche,* the Kievites went "up the hill," i.e., to the prince's castle, which they reached by crossing a "bridge." It may be presumed, therefore, that the market-place was situated in Podol, at the foot of Gora, and was inhabited by craftsmen and merchants. The transfer of the market-place signified the prince's desire to put it under his control. This step was so patently political that the chronicler used the expression "chased (*vezgna*) the market-place up the hill." The other part of the report saying that the Kievites threatened to burn down the town and depart for the Greek land if Izyaslav should start hostilities ("there is nothing we can do: we shall set fire to the town and flee to the Greek land") is not quite clear. This threat shows that merchants who traded with Byzantium shared in the uprising, because it was the Kiev's trade with the Byzantine Empire that suffered most from the Polovtsian raids.

Thus, the motive forces in the uprising were the merchants and the craftsmen who were dissatisfied with the practices of the prince's men and above all with the voivode Kosnyachko. The cause of their dissatisfaction lay in the prince's intention to control trade, particularly foreign trade, and to dominate the market-place. After Izyaslav's victory, this led to its transfer from the lowlying Podol to Gora.

Before its description of the 1068 uprising, the chronicle carries a sermon full of invective against "those who bear false witness, deprive the working men of their hire, oppress orphans and widows and perpetrate injustice."

Consequently, it was false testimony, usury and the oppression of freemen that, in the opinion of the preacher, caused the townsfolk to rebel. The general dissatisfaction of the Kievites is reflected in the chronicler's censure of Izyaslav, who violated his oath on the cross to the Polotsk prince. The Kievites regarded Vseslav as a fitting candidate for the Kiev throne, the more so since the Polotsk princes came from the senior branch of Vladimir's descendants who had not severed their ties with the town. Let us recall the bailey of Bryachislav, Vseslav's father, where the Polotsk prince was incarcerated. Vseslav's nomination was supported even by the influential Pechera Monastery. There are indications that Pechera Monastery was in some manner involved in the events of 1068, a fact which sheds light on the text of the chronicle. In the story of Isaaky the Hermit, carried by the *Pechera Paterik,* we find the following: "At that time Izyaslav happened to arrive from the Poles. And Izyaslav was full of wrath at Antony on account of Prince Vseslav."[1] It appears that the liberation of Vseslav and his enthronement was supported by Pechera Monastery and Antony, its founder.

Vseslav's strange behaviour after his enthronement must also needs be noted. After his seven-month rule in Kiev, he surreptitiously fled to Polotsk without offering any resistance, although he was known to be a warrior who was not loth to shed blood. But his behaviour becomes more understandable, if we assume that there were strings attached to his enthronement which were not to the liking of the ambitious prince. This assumption is supported by the report in the *Novgorod Annals* about Vseslav's flight and the fire in Podol ("Vseslav fled to Polotsk; and Podol was razed").[2]

The fire in Podol must have started as a result of the disturbances in Kiev which broke out under Vseslav and

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[1] *Pechera Paterik,* p. 129.
[2] *Novgorod Annals,* p. 17.

forced him to flee the town. *The Lay of Igor's Host* contains a poetic digression, hinting at Vseslav's special relations with the Kiev folk, the *lyudi*. It says that "Prince Vseslav judged the people, and distributed towns to the princes." We must make note of this word *lyudi* which was frequently used to denote the lower urban orders. We have here traces of the legend handed down in song about the "judgements and distributions" of the prophetic Vseslav who had made a great impression on the people of Kiev.

The uprising of 1068, is remarkable in that in it we find for the first time as protagonists the *lyudi*, meaning citizens, in the broad sense of the word. The uprising took place in Kiev, where urban life had developed and where the struggle of the townsfolk for civic freedoms had begun earlier than elsewhere.[1] In spite of the inadequacy of the information about the 1068 uprising in Kiev, we can still regard it as having been the greatest political event of the 11th century. It reflected the strengthening of the townsfolk who opposed princely rule and were in the act of deciding who was to be nominated for the Kiev throne—the most important in Rus.

In the Kiev uprising of 1113, which occurred after the death of Svyatopolk Izyaslavich, the claims of the townsfolk were more pronounced. Chronicle reports of this uprising are incomplete and fragmentary. After describing Svyatopolk's death and interment on April 16, 1113, the chronicler notes that on the following morning the Kievites "held council" and sent to Vladimir Monomakh, requesting him to assume the Kiev throne. Vladimir refused. Meanwhile, the uprising had broken out in the town. The people "plundered the bailey of Putyata, the *tysyatsky,* and went against the Jews and plundered them." The gravity of the situation in Kiev is stressed by the words addressed

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[1] M. Tkachenko, *Повстання в Київі в 1068-1069* pp. (*Naukovi zapiski Akademii nauk Ukr.S.S.R,* Book 1, 1943, p. 149).

to Monomakh: "Come to Kiev, Prince; if thou dost not, know that much evil will be perpetrated, and they will plunder not only Putyata's bailey, or those of the *sotskiye*, but of the Jews as well, and they will go against thy daughter-in-law and the boyars, and the monasteries." Vladimir agreed to ascend the Kiev throne, "and all men were glad and the uprising ended."[1]

It should be borne in mind that the chronicler's story is obviously biased. He tries to present Vladimir in the best light possible, as a prince who ascended the Kiev throne only after the most insistent entreaties by the people. But we have another source describing the uprising of 1113, which I first used in another paper. It is the *Lay of the Transportation of the Remains of Boris and Gleb* in the *Uspensky Collection* dating from the 12th century. This story makes it clear that the disturbances had spread beyond the town limits. Frightened by the sweep of the uprising, the upper classes invited Vladimir to ascend the Kiev throne as a prince who was capable of quelling the movement.[2]

Dissatisfaction with Svyatopolk's high-handed methods was long rife in Kiev. This is unequivocally stated by the *Pechera Paterik*: "Svyatopolk did much violence to the people, he destroyed the houses of the strong who had no fault, and seized the possessions of many." Svyatopolk was involved in salt speculations. During a salt shortage the merchants raised its price and sent the prince a complaint against the Pechera friar Prokhor, who distributed ashes instead of salt. Svyatopolk ordered the confiscation

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 198.
[2] "The second year after Svyatopolk died, after the church had been built, there was much rebellion and dissension among the people and many rumours, and all the *lyudi* then gathered, including the great and the noble, and went in a body entreating Vladimir to come and put an end to the dissension among the people. And he came and quelled the rebellion and disturbances among the people." (*Sbornik XII veka moskovskogo Uspenskogo sobora*, p. 38.)

of the friar's salt, which allegedly immediately turned into ashes.[1]

In spite of the obviously legendary nature of the story in the *Paterik,* we discern the outlines of actual events, namely, Svyatopolk's cupidity, his inclination to profiteer at the expense of the people and his connections with the usurers.

The quarrel between the Kievites and Svyatopolk, it appears, must have developed long before the uprising. The chronicler mentions the solar eclipse of March 19 and says that such portents bode "no good." He connects the phenomenon with the death of Svyatopolk, who did not die in Kiev but somewhere beyond Vyshgorod. Svyatopolk was bewailed "by the boyars and all his men-at-arms." Nothing is said of the woe of the Kiev people, although the grief of the people is usually mentioned when the death of other princes is described. Vladimir's refusal to ascend the Kiev throne is motivated by his sorrow for Svyatopolk ("He bewailed his brother"). After the death of the prince, the people took matters into their own hands and decided to invite Vladimir to the throne. These reports reveal a desire on the part of the chronicler to conceal certain facts which the ruling classes could not stomach. Nevertheless, the chronicler himself makes it clear that the dissatisfaction of the Kiev folk and possibly their open indignation was instrumental in bringing about Svyatopolk's departure from the capital. In that case, the chronicler's report about Vladimir's sorrow for his brother becomes understandable. Vladimir was unwilling to receive the Kiev throne from the hands of the Kiev folk as was the case with Vseslav. The latter part of the report remains obscure. On the one hand, Vladimir was invited by the people of Kiev, and on the other, these same people plundered the bailey of the *tysyatsky* and the Jewish quarter where the money-changers and the usurers lived. It follows there-

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 106, 108.

fore that the boyars and the clergy took no part in the uprising ("they shall go against ... the boyars and the monasteries") and their baileys were also threatened by devastation. This is a clear indication of the class nature of the 1113 uprising.

The contradictions I have noted above are due to the fact that the chronicle speaks of two different sections of the Kiev population. The *lyudi* among whom this *golku* and "rebellion" took place, according to the *Uspensky Collection,* are the townsfolk at large. The great and noble *muzhi*" who were more energetic than others in inviting Vladimir to Kiev were the upper classes, the boyars and the merchants.

The uprising of 1113 led to the appearance of the *Statutes of Vladimir Monomakh* inscribed in the *Extensive Russkaya Pravda.* The *Statutes* have probably not been preserved in full, but some of its features indicate that it was a sort of donative deed to the Kievites.[1]

Vladimir Monomakh's *Statutes* tell of the conference at Berestovo which adopted the resolution on the *rezas* (interest). The conference was attended by three *tysyatskiye,* whose duties brought them into daily contact with the urban population. It is not improbable that the invitation of Monomakh to the Kiev throne was made conditional on certain guarantees for the urban population, covered by a *ryad*—an agreement between the prince and the townsfolk. This is borne out by subsequent events. After the death in 1132 of Mstislav Vladimirovich, who succeeded Monomakh, the Kiev throne was held by Yaropolk, Mstislav's brother, "because he was sent for by the Kievites."[2] We discover a similar situation when the Kiev throne was ascended by a third member of the Monomakh family, namely, Prince Vyacheslav. He was met by the people and the metropolitan who "led him to the throne of his great

[1] M. N. Tikhomirov, *Studies of Russkaya Pravda,* pp. 204-11.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals,* p. 286.

grandfather Yaroslav."[1] *Posadisha* (seated), the term in the original report, was subsequently very often used in the *Novgorod Annals* and shows that a specific meaning was attributed to the coronation: the grand prince did not occupy the throne of his own accord due to his right of heritage but did it with the consent of the people who seated him on that throne. The Ancient Rus chroniclers were well aware of the difference between *sede* (sat) and *posadisha* (seated). Some of the chronicles contain texts in which the royal phraseology was substituted for Novgorod's republican terminology throughout.[2]

It was mid-12th-century Kiev that was the scene of the most resolute struggle of the townsfolk for their civic freedoms. This struggle was preceded by the weakening of the royal authority during the internecine strife which flared up after the death of Mstislav the Great in 1132. The prestige of the princes in Kiev was somewhat consolidated after Vsevolod Olegovich entered the town in 1140 with "honour and great glory."

The latter was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the Kiev princes of the 12th century. Enjoying the support of the Polish feudals, he had enough strength to maintain a firm hold on the throne. Vsevolod skilfully played off the Olegovichi family against the Monomakh family, at times very ably uniting their divergent interests. Many princes, among them the Olegovichi and the Monomakhovichi, took part in the 1144 campaign against Vladimirko, manifesting a rare unanimity in the struggle against that "profuse speaker" and crafty prince of Galich. Vsevolod Olegovich regarded himself as a continuator of the policy of Vladimir Monomakh and Mstislav. Wishing to secure the Kiev throne for his brother Igor, he argued his right to appoint a successor by citing precedents:

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 291.
[2] М. Н. Тихомиров, *О Вологодско-Пермской летописи* (M. N. Tikhomirov, *Concerning the Vologda-Perm Chronicle*), *Problemy istochnikovedenia*, Collection III, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, p. 239.

"Vladimir seated Mstislav, his son, in Kiev; and Mstislav his brother Yaropolk, and this I say unto you: if God takes me away I give Kiev after me to my brother Igor."[1] The Monomakh family, headed by Izyaslav Mstislavich, who was later forced to compromise, presented a great obstacle to the transfer of the Kiev throne to Igor. But it was not the princes, but the people of Kiev who had the last say in these events.

When Vsevolod Olegovich fell ill in 1146, he summoned the Kievites and suggested that they recognize Igor as their prince: "Here is my brother Igor, take him." The Kievites, and the people of Vyshgorod after them, recognized Igor as their prince and took the oath on the cross. But the situation underwent a radical change after the death, apparently, in Vyshgorod of Vsevolod Olegovich on August 1. As soon as Igor arrived in Kiev, he summoned the people of the town to "Yaroslav's bailey on the hill" and made them take the oath on the cross. A *veche* was then called near Tur's Chapel, which probably stood somewhere in Podol. Thus, as was the case in 1068, the aristocratic Gora, the seat of the prince, clashed with the craftsmen of Podol. The people of Kiev invited Igor to attend the *veche*, but the prince chose to remain with his men-at-arms and sent his brother Svyatoslav in his stead.

The *veche* was a stormy one. The townsfolk accused Vsevolod's *tiuns* of abuse of power ("Ratsha ruined Kiev, and Tudor—Vyshgorod") and demanded of the prince guarantees for the future: "Swear on the cross with thy brother: if any of us are wronged, you shall judge." Thus the Kiev folk were not only intent on a change of magistrates but also wished to have definite juridical guarantees confirmed by a royal oath. This was in substance the embryo of the political system which in the long run gave Novgorod its original republican constitution cur-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 217, 227.

tailing the rights of the prince by his agreement with the people. Svyatoslav took an oath on his own behalf and on behalf of Igor in the following formula which the chronicle has preserved for us: "I kiss the cross with my brother that no violence whatsoever shall be done you, and you shall choose your own *tiun*."[1] Igor also kissed the cross "concerning all their rights and on behalf of his brother." This served as a signal for the plunder of the baileys of Ratsha and the *mechniks*.

Another remarkable feature leaps to the eye in spite of the brevity of the chronicle reports. The entire town, including the "best people" took part in the negotiations with the prince. Thus, Kiev's aristocracy struggled for civic autonomy together with the lower orders. The *tysyatsky* Uleb and the Kiev boyars eventually joined in the events.

Igor Olegovich's oath on the cross should have removed the causes of discontent among the Kiev folk whose demands were accepted by the prince. Actually, the Kievites did not abandon their hostile designs against Igor and initiated secret talks with Izyaslav Mstislavich. The chronicler explains that the townsfolk were dissatisfied with Kiev falling to Igor as part of his heritage ("We do not wish to be as in a legacy").[2] The people of Kiev were intent on having the right to call their own princes, as was the custom in Novgorod. We have additional and highly valuable information in the *Moscow Collection* dating from the late 15th century, based on an ancient source and also used by the *Ipaty Collection*. According to it, Igor's controversy with the Kievites resulted from his unwillingness to do the people's will ("He did not start doing things as the people wished"). It was the will of the people that the princes judge the people of Kiev

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 229.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 230; *Lavrenty Annals* (p. 297) has a shorter version: "And Igor entered Kiev, and was not acceptable to the people, and they sent to Izyaslav in Pereyaslavl, saying: 'Come, Prince, we want thee.'"

in person "and that the *tiuns* shall neither judge them nor sell them." The movement against Igor Olegovich involved broad sections of the population. The plot against him was led by the *tysyatsky* Uleb and the boyar Ivan Voitishich who is mentioned in the note for 1117 as a boyar of Vladimir Monomakh. They "held malicious council with the Kievites against their prince." During the battle near the town walls, "great numbers" of the home guard stood as a separate unit and immediately defected to Izyaslav Mstislavich, thus tipping the scales in his favour.

The *veche* grew in importance under the regime which was established in Kiev after the victory of Izyaslav Mstislavich. Preparing to fight the Chernigovites, Izyaslav sent his envoys to Kiev to secure the approval of the *veche*. "Gather the Kievites in the court around St. Sophia's and let my envoy promulgate my speech to them and tell of the deceit of the Chernigov princes."[1] The *veche* was convened in the court around St. Sophia's, and the Kievites, stirred by the reports that the Chernigov princes had launched a campaign, rushed to St. Feodor's Monastery where Igor Olegovich was a monk. The infuriated crowd killed Igor. This murder aroused great indignation among the feudals. One obscure memorial, which lauds Greek and Russian saints, describes Igor as follows: "The Kievites imposed upon him the honest monachal image as a rebuke, but in it he accepted the immortal crown; it was blameless glory that they bestowed upon him, while they earned eternal torments for themselves." The memorial then attacks the love of gold and addresses the princes thus: "And to the princes I shall say this: save yourselves, princes, by truth, by renouncing the love of gold; save yourselves you, too, princesses, not by malice but by truth and by hating lucre."[2]

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 245.
[2] Lenin State Library of the U.S.S.R., *Rumyantsev Collection*, No. 406, CCCCVI, *Collection of Parchment and Paper MSS. of the Mid-15th-Century*, p. 22.

The curious excerpt quoted above places the blame for Igor's murder squarely on the Kievites, while the princes and princesses are revealed as being addicted to the love of gold. The shaping of the feudal concept that every outbreak against the ruling authority was criminal is clearly reflected in the collection I have quoted and which I have provisionally named *Memorial of the Holy Fathers*. Igor's vile character and his "love of gold," hinted at by the author of the *Memorial*, did not prevent him from being canonized as a Russian saint.

The events of 1146-47 made it clear that the Kiev folk were a political force which could not be ignored in the solution of major civic issues. Izyaslav Mstislavich was confirmed on the Kiev throne as a result of his concessions to the Kievites, his *ryad* with the people who are described further on.

A case in point is Izyaslav's weakness. The Kievites refused to support his struggle against Yuri Dolgoruky which made the former start his campaign only with his men-at-arms and volunteers, including Uleb, whose post in Kiev was taken by the *tysyatsky* Lazar. It appears that the post of *tysyatsky* in Kiev had become elective by that time. Thus, the 1146-47 events were of the utmost political importance to Kiev; if civic freedoms had developed, the town would have had a government similar to that of Novgorod.

The rule of Izyaslav Mstislavich revealed the instability of princely authority in Kiev. As early as 1149, the Kiev folk refused to support their prince and allowed Yuri Dolgoruky to enter the city. Izyaslav returned to Kiev the following year but was barely able to save his uncle Vyacheslav who ascended the throne after Yuri's flight. Izyaslav did not dare to come to an agreement with his uncle for fear of the Kievites: "I cannot come to an agreement with thee, look at the strength of the people, the people are legion, and they intend to do much harm to thee." In 1150, the Kievites deserted Izyaslav during a

battle, and far from supporting him upon his return to Kiev, they helped Yuri Dolgoruky's men-at-arms to cross the Dnieper to Podol.[1] The fluctuations in the people's political sympathies in support of the various royal families were the cause of the insecurity of the Kiev throne. This situation was reminiscent of the princely "leap frog" in Novgorod in the 12th century. Agreement with the people of Kiev becomes a *sine qua non* of a prince's confirmation on the throne of Kiev.

After the death of Izyaslav Mstislavich, the Kiev throne was held by Rostislav, who, it was said, was "seated" by the Kievites. The meaning of these words is made clear by the story in the chronicle. After the death of his uncle Vyacheslav, the senior Monomakhovich, Rostislav Mstislavich lost all semblance of right to the Kiev throne and was preparing to use violence against the Chernigov princes. "But he was forbidden to go to Chernigov by the *muzhi* who said: 'God has taken thy uncle Vyacheslav and thou hast not yet confirmed thyself with the people in Kiev, better go to Kiev and confirm thyself with the people there, and if thy uncle Yuri comes against thee, thou wilt conclude peace with him since thou are confirmed with the people.'"

Rostislav's defeat and flight brought forth comment on the part of the chronicle: "Hard times set in for the Kievites, not a single prince remained with them in Kiev."[2] This led to the invitation of Prince Izyaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, who had earlier made a point of canvassing Kiev opinion on the subject.

Somewhat later, Izyaslav Davydovich frankly attributed his enthronement to the invitation of the Kievites: "Did I go to Kiev myself? The Kievites seated me." Such was his flat reply to charges that he had attempted to seize the town.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 268, 277, 279-80.
[2] Ibid., pp. 324, 326, 327.

Yuri Dolgoruky's repeated failures to establish himself in Kiev were due to his unwillingness to reckon with the will of the Kievites, an approach which was very logical for a prince from the Suzdal Land where civic life was in an embryonic state. For that reason Yuri's rule in Kiev was plainly unstable. The prince's death gave the Kievites a free hand, and they plundered his baileys within and without the town.

The practice of seating a prince on the Kiev throne with the consent of the people was firmly established in the second half of the 12th century. Such consent naturally could not have been unanimous. That is why changes on the throne were usually accompanied by reprisals against the dissident. After having captured Kiev, not without the help of a part of its people, Izyaslav "granted pardon to all Kievites who were taken" (i.e., arrested).

Later, Mstislav Izyaslavich was invited to ascend the Kiev throne not only by his brothers, but also by the black hoods and by the Kievites ("The Kievites sent for him on their own behalf"). Upon entering the town in 1169, Izyaslav "took a *ryad* with his brothers, and the men-at-arms and the Kievites." A similar *ryad* between Mstislav and the Kievites is mentioned in 1172.[1]

In 1174, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich seized Kiev with the knowledge of the townsfolk, who were, however, powerless to lend him any substantial aid. When the former Kiev Prince Yaroslav Izyaslavich heard of Svyatoslav's departure from Kiev, he returned to the town and "sold all of Kiev." He made short shrift of the Kievites for helping the Olegovichi family, a part of the nobles were heavily fined while some were sold into slavery.

The sack of Kiev by the troops of Andrei Bogolyubsky in 1169 resulted in the most drastic changes in the relationship between the princes and the townsfolk. Gleb Yuryevich, the new Kiev prince, was installed on the Kiev

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 329, 336, 365, 375.

throne by Andrei Bogolyubsky, and there was no question at all of the consent of the townsfolk. Mstislav Izyaslavich had made attempts to conclude a *ryad* with the Kievites, but Bogolyubsky repeatedly ignored the wishes of the Kiev folk. He simply appointed Roman Rostislavich prince of Kiev in 1174, declaring: "I give Kiev ... to Roman."[1]

The efforts of the townsfolk once again to have their say in the election of the princes were fruitless. It is true, that in 1202 the Kievites opened the "Podol gates" to their favourite Roman Mstislavich. Ryurik Rostislavich, his enemy, tried to entrench himself on Gora but was forced to flee to Ovruch. It is characteristic that Roman's invitation was once again sponsored by democratic Podol and was opposed by Gora. In retaliation, Kiev was sacked once again in 1203. This time it was "not only Podol that was taken and burned, but Gora was also taken."[2] The new devastation did irreparable harm to the town which had already begun to decline in the late 12th century.

Here is a summing up of my observations of Kiev's history. Starting from the uprising in 1068, the people of Kiev fought against the princes for broader civic privileges. They demanded the removal of objectionable magistrates and opposed the princes themselves. A practice was established after the death of Vladimir Monomakh under which the princes concluded a *ryad* with the townsfolk similar to the agreements later concluded between Novgorod and the grand princes. It was at this time that the Kievites began to elect their *tysyatsky*. *Veche* activities were intensified. By the mid-12th century, conditions in Kiev were ripe for the emergence of a system similar to the one in Novgorod. Repeated devastations of the town and the general decline of its industry and trade resulted in a

[1] Ibid., pp. 373, 387.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 397.

strengthening of royal authority in Kiev. This went parallel to the decline of its economic and political life. The weakness of Kiev's economy in the early 13th century ruled out the possibility of its citizens exerting any influence on political affairs. The Tatar pogroms put an end to *veche* traditions in Kiev.

3. POLOTSK AND SMOLENSK

Much less is known about the struggle for civic freedoms in such an important town as Polotsk, which became prominent at an early date due to its detached position and major economic significance. The royal dynasty, descendant from Vladimir Svyatoslavich and Polotsk Princess Rogneda, ruled the town and its environs. But reports of life in 11th-century Polotsk are so fragmentary that what we know of the town's political life concerns the period beginning from the 12th century.

A struggle for the Polotsk throne began among the successors of Prince Vseslav Bryachislavich after his death in 1101. Under the circumstances, the Polotsk folk received an opportunity of deposing princes as they saw fit. One such change took place in 1127, when the people of Polotsk expelled Davyd and his sons and with the consent of Mstislav Vladimirovich installed Rogvolod as their prince.

Five years later, the Polotsk folk once again used their rights to oust Prince Svyatopolk. The chronicler has recorded the formula used by the Polotsk folk to expel the prince: "He is deprived of us."[1] The dismemberment of the demesnes and the constant interference of the more powerful princes in Polotsk affairs weakened the princely power in the town. By the mid-12th century, the Polotsk princes were already dependent on the *veche*, and the chronicler's reports of the events of 1151 and 1159 seem

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 282-84, 286.

to lift a veil, revealing the bitter struggle of the citizens against objectionable princes. The numerous Polotsk princes vied with each other for the throne and this was turned to account by the townsfolk. In 1151, they "took Rogvolod Borisovich, their prince, and sent him to Minsk, and held him there in great want, and they led Glebovich back with them; and the Polotsk folk sent to Svyatoslav Olegovich with love in order to have him for a father and live in obedience under him, and they kissed the cross on this."[1] In other words, the events in Polotsk were reminiscent of those in Novgorod in 1136. Not being content with recognizing the prince, they held the prince in prison "in great want," under strict surveillance. At the same time, they concluded an agreement with Svyatoslav Olegovich and enthroned Prince Rostislav Glebovich, a member of another branch of the Polotsk royal family.

Eight years later, the situation had changed entirely. The selfsame Rogvolod Borisovich made his appearance at Drutsk and was welcomed by the townsfolk and the Polotsk folk who were there: "And the people were happy to see him." The townsfolk expelled the son of Rostislav Glebovich, "plundered his bailey ... and his men-at-arms." A revolt broke out in Polotsk, and the people were restrained only by Rostislav's resolute action: "Rostislav barely succeeded in restraining the people, and he gave them many gifts and led them to take an oath on the cross." The conditions under which the oath was taken are described in the chronicle. The people of Polotsk took the following oath: "Thou art our prince, and God help us to live with thee, have no evil designs against thee concealed and even unto the oath on the cross."[2] None the less, subsequent events demonstrated the extreme instability of Rostislav's position. The Polotsk folk initiated secret talks with Rogvolod Borisovich who sat in Drutsk and tried to

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 307-08.
[2] Ibid., p. 339.

capture Rostislav by means of a ruse. A *veche* gathered in the town, and Rostislav was forced to flee to Minsk.

A history of Smolensk's domestic affairs is as difficult to trace as that of Polotsk. But the general conclusions on the development of *veche* activities in Kiev and Polotsk are fully applicable to Smolensk, although its political history is very obscure. There is only one report, dated 1186, about an open clash between Prince Davyd and the people of Smolensk: "At the same time there was a clash in Smolensk between Prince Davyd and the Smolensk folk, and many heads of the best people rolled."[1] The cause of the quarrel is unknown but it is highly probable that the prince had violated the civic freedoms which had become traditional long before the year mentioned. The charter deed of the Smolensk bishopric dating from 1151 says that the people of Smolensk took part in politics. It· has the prince say: "Having consulted with my *lyudi,* I brought the bishop to Smolensk." Golubovsky is quite right in pointing out that our chronicles use the word *lyudi* to denote the people at large in contrast to the prince and his men-at-arms.

But the most curious fact is probably the report in official Smolensk documents describing the *lyudi* taking part in political affairs side by side with the prince. In the above-mentioned charter deed we find the following concluding words: "And let no one judge this after my death, neither the prince, nor the *lyudi.*"[2] This connection of the *lyudi,* i.e., the townsfolk, with the installation of a bishopric in Smolensk becomes clear if we recall that the town's weights and measures were kept at the bishopric. As was the practice elsewhere, the Cathedral of the Assumption in Smolensk served as a repository for the standard weights and measures. That is where the *kap,*

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 38.

[2] П. В. Голубовский, *История Смоленской земли до начала XV ст.* (P. V. Golubovsky, *A History of the Smolensk Land Until the Early 15th Century*), Kiev, 1895, pp. 214-15, 257.

which served as a standard for other such weights, was kept.

The well-known Smolensk treaty of 1229 is another document which bears traces of having been drawn up with the participation of the townsfolk. Golubovsky notes that it, too, was drawn up after the prince consulted the *veche*. Some of its transcripts confirm this with the following words: "That it may be so for ever, and be acceptable to the prince and to all the people of Smolensk." At the signing of the treaty, the Smolensk side was represented by one Tumash Smolnyanin, called "Tumash Mikhalevich" in some transcripts. Among Smolensk envoys sent to Riga were the priest Yeremei and the-*sotsky* Pantelei, called "a wise *muzh*" in some transcripts. The *sotskiye*, it will be recalled, were connected with the urban craftsmen and merchants. That is why I think Golubovsky is perfectly right in saying that "the *veche* of the Smolensk Land had legislative powers which it shared with the prince, and that without the *veche* it was impossible to establish the size of the tributes, to grant land, or any other privileges in general. In short, no changes could be effected in the land without it."[1]

4. NOVGOROD

The struggle of the people of Novgorod for their civic freedoms has, I think, been studied at greater length than similar events elsewhere. For that reason I shall confine my examination to a number of problems pertaining to the emergence of the system in Novgorod as it appears to the historian after the Mongolian conquest. The Vladimir-Suzdal chronicler of the 12th century was convinced that the Novgorod folk had enjoyed their freedoms since the earliest times and that they were delivered from dependence by the forbears of "our princes." Who were these forbears

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[1] Ibid., p. 215.

of the princes? It may well be that the chronicler had some definite people in mind, but failed to specify them, believing that such facts were common knowledge; in any case, it was the chronicler's impression that Novgorod freedoms had been won long ago, and were typical of ancient towns.

Many circumstances led to the early emergence of Novgorod's freedoms, not the least among them being the fact that Novgorod did not have a permanent royal dynasty since every successive grand prince strove to keep the town for himself. The elder sons of the grand princes, who usually sat in Novgorod, naturally regarded their rule in Novgorod as a mere stage in their career, and this led to the strengthening of the power of the *posadniks* and the archbishop. Indeed, as early as the 11th century the Novgorod princes clashed with the *posadniks*. Yaroslav the Wise had the *posadnik* Konstantin Dobrynich, who had earlier helped him to overcome Svyatopolk the Damned, incarcerated in Rostov and killed three years later in Murom. In a very obscure way, the chronicle connects Yaroslav's wrath with the inception of the reign of Vladimir Yaroslavich and the deed granted to Novgorod at that time. Elsewhere, I have shown that this deed dates from 1016 and has been preserved in the text of the opening articles of the *Earliest Pravda* and *Concise Russkaya Pravda*.[1] According to Novgorod tradition, Konstantin was the second *posadnik* in the town and succeeded the legendary Gostomysl. This may be due to the lack of records and because he was the first independent *posadnik* whom Yaroslav left in Novgorod after his departure for Kiev. The well-known story of the magus who stirred up the people in Novgorod under Prince Gleb Svyatoslavich shows that the position of the Novgorod princes was unstable—"the *lyudi* all followed the magus, and there was revolt among them."[2] In the chronicle this event is provisionally dated

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[1] M. N. Tikhomirov, *Studies of Russkaya Pravda*, pp. 48-61,
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 196.

1071 and is a separate story beginning with the words: "Thus the magus arose under Gleb in Novgorod." This may be connected with the Kiev uprising of 1068.

In the early 12th century, events in Novgorod came to a head. The chronicler recounts the successive change of three Novgorod *posadniks* (between 1117-19): they were Dobrynya, Dmitr Zavidich and Konstantin (Kosnyatin) Moiseyevich. He then says that "Boris came to serve as *posadnik* in Novgorod" in 1120. This somewhat obscure statement is elucidated by other records which add that Boris arrived from Kiev.[1] Shortly before this, disturbances had broken out in Novgorod. The note for 1118 in the earliest *Novgorod Annals* says: "That same year, Vladimir and Mstislav brought all the Novgorod boyars to Kiev and led them to the sacred cross and sent them home, and left some by his side; and he was ired at those who had plundered Danslav and Nozdrecha, and at the *sotsky* Stavr, and imprisoned all of them." The mention of the plunder of Danslav is made in connection with the uprising, or at least with the 1118 disturbances in Novgorod, and the subsequent departure of Prince Mstislav to his father Vladimir Monomakh in Kiev. The enthronement of Mstislav's son Vsevolod led to disturbances caused by the desire to extend Novgorod's freedoms. That is why the Novgorod boyars were summoned to Kiev and made to swear on the cross. This was also why Boris was appointed *posadnik* in Novgorod in 1120.

The unstable position of princely rule in Novgorod in Vladimir Monomakh's time became even more precarious after the latter's death. *Novgorod Annals* give us two highly significant facts: "That same year (1125), the Novgorodites seated Vsevolod on the throne," and "that same year (1126), they gave the post of *posadnik* to Miroslav Gyuryatinich."[2]

[1] *PSRL*, Vol. IV, Petrograd, 1917, p. 144; *Novgorod Annals*, p. 21
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 21.

Both reports are closely interconnected. Both predicates (*seated* and *gave*) imply "the Novgorodites," or *"lyudi,* as a subject. What is also remarkable is that the *Novgorod Annals* say that Mstislav Monomakh's son, "was seated on his father's throne." This shows that the citizens freely elected their princes. The *posadnik* was also installed by the people of Novgorod. This seems to clash with the report of Danilo's arrival from Kiev in 1129 to act as *posadnik* in Novgorod.[1] But that was only an attempt on the part of the grand prince to restore the old order, and subsequently led to the expulsion of Vsevolod Mstislavich.

The Novgorod uprising of 1136 has been sufficiently well described, particularly by B. D. Grekov, to warrant a lengthy examination here. The year 1136 should be regarded as a turning point in Novgorod's history because since then the *veche* system was firmly established in the town. Who was it then that led the movement against Vsevolod? We learn of the facts from a story about Vsevolod's attempt to recapture the Novgorod throne. When it was learned in Novgorod that Vsevolod had been holding secret talks with some of its boyars "the revolt in Novgorod was great, for the people did not want Vsevolod." Later, it transpires, the people of Novgorod collected money from the boyars "who were friendly with Vsevolod" and gave it to the merchants who kept a war fund. There was open enmity for Vsevolod among the craftsmen and merchants.

The question then arises as to who took part in deposing Vsevolod, and why this was done.

We find a partial answer in the records other than the chronicle, primarily in Vsevolod's charter to the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki and in his church charter. The first is connected with two reports in the *Novgorod Annals* dating from 1127 and 1130 about the

[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 22.

building of a stone church in Petryatin's bailey. It may be presumed then that the Ivanskoye *Sto* included not only dealers in wax but other merchants as well. Thus, Vsevolod's church charter mentions the *"yevansky lokot,"* a linear measure which was used by dealers in broadcloth and other fabrics and not by dealers in wax. The same document names a number of persons invited by the prince to discuss the commercial weights and measures. Among them were alderman Boleslav, town crier Miroshka, and Ivanskoye alderman Vasyata. Of the trio, town crier Miroshka may be identified as Miroslav Gyuryatinich who was twice *posadnik* in Novgorod, in 1126 and 1134. The diminutive "Miroshka" used here instead of Miroslav, his full name, does not in any way preclude this identification since there was nothing offensive in it. Thus, the famous *posadnik* of the late 12th century was called in that manner and even his children were named Miroshkinichi. The fact that an alderman of the Ivanskoye *Sto* took part in the conference shows that it was held after the charter of St. John the Baptist Church on the Opoki had been drawn up.

Some reports in the chronicle indicate that close ties existed between Vsevolod Mstislavich and Nifont, the bishop of Novgorod. In 1135, Vsevolod and Nifont jointly laid the foundation of the stone Church of the Mother of God which stood in the market-place. In winter, Nifont "went to Rus" to reconcile Kiev and Chernigov.

After the expulsion of Vsevolod, Nifont refused to perform the marriage ceremony for the new Prince Svyatoslav Olegovich, who intended to marry in Novgorod. It was then that "Vsevolod's supporters" made an attempt on Svyatoslav's life. The campaign against Pskov, where Vsevolod had entrenched himself, was waged by "the prince and the *lyudi*," an expression which gives an idea of Svyatoslav's supporters.[1] Vsevolod's association with the

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 24-25.

clergy possibly explains why he was canonized as a saint at an early date.

The struggle of the people of Novgorod for their civic freedoms did not end in 1136-37. It developed and resulted in the creation of a feudal republic in Novgorod, which proudly styled itself "Lord Great Novgorod." Novgorod's struggle for civic freedoms was consummated in the 13th century. This was preceded by a number of major uprisings, that of 1209 being the most important. The class struggle in Novgorod was bitter and led to much bloodshed. But its history lies beyond the framework of this paper.

5. GALICH

Veche activities developed not only in the towns that lay along the ancient waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks" but also in the new towns which sprang up in the Galich-Volyn and Vladimir-Suzdal lands. This, however, needs substantiation, because different scholars hold different opinions. S. V. Yushkov believes that there were no major trading centres in the Galich Land to equal those of Smolensk or Vladimir, let alone Kiev or Novgorod. In his opinion "the citizens' *veche* in Galich was of no particular importance."[1] This view is not particularly new, since similar opinions had been earlier expressed by M. Smirnov: "Thus, it is the boyars who are the main agents in every major instance; they invite the princes, engineer plots, seize administrative power in the land, etc., while the citizens are mute and play the passive role of adherents to the upper class and the factotums of its designs; the role which the inhabitants managed to preserve in Kiev where the boyars appeared to be newcomers (for new boyars came with each new prince), that role in Ga-

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[1] S. V. Yushkov, *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus*, pp. 248-49.

lich was transferred entirely to the boyars whose importance was due to their wealth and the sway they held over the people as a result of their station in public life. The people at large, who were left to themselves and lacked both means and leadership, were naturally divided and sided with the various boyars."[1]

Actually, however, the struggle for civic privileges and *veche* activities were clearly manifested in the Galich-Volyn Land. This is particularly true of Galich. As was the case in other Rus lands, the movement among the Galich folk developed in close connection with the internecine quarrels among the princes, which gave the citizens an opportunity of having their say in the choice of princes. The people of Galich were prepared to lend support to the junior prince Ivan Rostislavich Berladnik against his uncle Vladimirko. It is probable that this support did not come from the entire body of the citizens, but only from that section of them who regarded Ivan as a champion of the democratic sections of the people. No wonder then that during Ivan's siege of Ushitsa, the *smerds* climbed over the town wall and "300 defected" to him.

The scattered reports about *berladniks*, who were named after the town of Berlad, or Byrlat, in South Moldavia, indicate that they were the precursors of the latter-day *brodniks,* among whom were fugitive *kholops,* *smerds* and impoverished townsfolk. It was no mere chance, therefore, that Ivan Berladnik aroused the sympathies of the *smerds* and the particular hatred of the senior princes. No wonder Yuri Dolgoruky treated Ivan as a criminal, held him in fetters and was prepared to deliver him to Yaroslav for execution. A coalition of princes had earlier arisen against Ivan. Yaroslav of Galich "had solicited help against Ivan from the princes, the king [of Hungary, I believe] and the Polish princes." This coalition was the result of their

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[1] M. Smirnov, *History of Chervonnaya or Galich Rus Before Its Integration with Poland,* St. Petersburg, 1860, pp. 118-19.

common fear of Ivan Berladnik as a leader of the movement of the lower orders in town and countryside. The records contain sinister reports of his death which hint at the possibility of his having been poisoned abroad: "Others say that his death was due to poison."[1]

It appears that from the very first the people of Galich were dissatisfied with Vladimirko's rule, so that when the Olegovichi launched a campaign against Galich in 1144, they forced the former to start negotiations. That same year, the Galich folk made clear their attitude towards Vladimirko: in the absence of the prince, "the Galich folk sent for Ivan Rostislavich in Zvenigorod and led him back with them to Galich." After a three-week siege of Galich, Vladimirko finally succeeded in cutting Ivan off from Galich and forced him to flee beyond the Danube. But even then the citizens "fought for Ivan against Vladimirko for another week" before they were eventually forced to surrender to their prince, who took savage reprisals.[2]

But the people of Galich continued to keep in touch with Ivan Berladnik. In 1159, they sent to him suggesting that he launch a campaign: "As soon as your banners appear we shall abandon Yaroslav." Later, the "Galich *muzhi*" had intercourse with his son Rostislav Ivanovich. It was V. I. Sergeyevich who first noted this characteristic feature of the chronicler's report about the invitation of Berladnik's son to the Galich throne in 1159: "It draws a line of distinction between the two sections of the Galich folk, and shows that the prince was invited not only by the boyars (at a very early date they had become a strong class whose importance is unquestionable) but also by the common folk."[3] Sergeyevich draws our attention to yet another more important report dating from 1235 which describes the role of the townsfolk in Galich Rus.. Dur-

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[1] *Ipatg Annals*, pp. 335, 341, 355.
[2] Ibid., p. 226.
[3] В. И. Сергеевич, *Вече и князь* (V. I. Sergeyevich, *Veche and Prince*), Moscow, 1867, p. 8.

ing the siege of Galich by the Hungarian king, the towns-folk fought the Hungarians. The chronicler repeatedly emphasizes that it was the "godless" Galich boyars who were Daniil's enemies. At a desperate moment of the struggle against the boyars, Daniil had convened a *veche* which promised to lend him support. Later, the boyars are described as being directly opposed to the townsfolk. Daniil addresses the people as follows: "O, ye *muzhi* of the town, how long do you intend to bear the rule of princes from other tribes." The people of Galich sided with him, and the chronicler notes: "He was beloved by the people." Later, it transpires that Daniil's enemies were Bishop Artemy, the chamberlain Grigory and the boyars."[1]

The nature of the Galich-Volyn chronicle, which has not been closely studied as a historic source, does not allow us to get a deeper insight into the domestic history of Galich, but what we know of it shows that it did have a *veche* system. And this is true not only of Galich but also of the other towns of the Galich-Volyn Land.

The chronicle describes the role played by the citizens, or the *lyudi*. Thus, in the report of Daniil Romanovich's offer to the people of Zvenigorod to surrender to him ("they sent to the *grazhane*," "the people of Zvenigorod surrendered"), the *grazhane* and the "people of Zvenigorod" are equated.[2] And this proves how wrong Yushkov was in minimizing the role of the *veche* in Galich and in asserting that the Kievites, the Chernigovites and others were mainly boyars.

6. VLADIMIR ZALESSKY

The new town of Vladimir-on-Klyazma was quick to emulate the *veche* practices of the ancient towns. In the disturbances which broke out after the death of Andrei

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 507, 508, 509, 517-18
[2] Ibid., p. 486.

Bogolyubsky, the people of Vladimir sided with his brother Mikhalko Yuryevich. Worn out by siege and starvation, they concluded an agreement with Yaropolk Rostislavich, the other pretender to the throne. "Yaropolk, prince, was with joy installed by the people of Vladimir in the town of Vladimir, in the Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God, concluding a *poryad*." We find Yaropolk ascending the throne in Vladimir after concluding a *poryad*—a treaty— with the people, as was the practice of the princes in Kiev and Novgorod in the 12th century.

The subsequent internecine struggle between the princes revealed the role of the people of Vladimir with greater clarity. The well-known fact that the Rostov and Suzdal people (the senior) were counterposed to the new *mizinniye* (junior) people of Vladimir becomes fraught with meaning when we compare it with the reports in the chronicle about contemporary events in Suzdal. Declaring their adherence to Mikhalko Yuryevich, the people of Suzdal said that they had not opposed him: "We, Prince, took no part in that campaign with Mstislav, but it was the boyars who were there." This is a perfectly clear indication that the prince had an agreement with the townsfolk: the *lyudi* are contrasted with the boyars, who warred against the prince. This was a triumph for the new order of things based on an agreement between the royal authority and the people as opposed to the boyardom. This is made clear by the chronicle.[1]

Mikhalko Yuryevich waged a persistent struggle against the boyars because he was supported by the people not only in Vladimir but in Suzdal and Rostov as well. "Mikhalko went to Suzdal and from Suzdal to Rostov and made the whole of the *naryad* with the *lyudi*, and confirmed it by kissing the cross with them."[2] We find that in Rostov it is the *lyudi* and not the boyars with whom Mi-

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 354, 359-62.
[2] Ibid., p. 359.

khalko likewise concluded an agreement sealed by an oath as Yaropolk had done in Vladimir.

In 1177, a "great uprising" broke out in Vladimir. The boyars and the merchants demanded that Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo make short shrift of the captive princes. Vsevolod pacified the insurgents "but soon all the *lyudi* and the boyars rose up once again."[1]

The *veche* traditions in Suzdal and Vladimir survived the horrible Mongolian devastation and made themselves felt in the second half of the 13th century. In 1262, the *lyudi* "called a *veche*, and expelled" the Tatar tax collectors from "the towns of Rostov, of Suzdal and of Yaroslavl." The strength of *veche* traditions in Ancient Rus towns is illustrated by the fact that they were still in evidence in the Vladimir-Suzdal Land even as late as the 14th century.

Here is a semi-legendary story in the records about the Suzdal Prince Alexander Vasilyevich which is not devoid of historical significance: "This Prince Alexander from Vladimir took the *veche* bell from the Church of the Holy Mother of God to Suzdal and the bell ceased to ring as in Vladimir. And Prince Alexander thought that he had been rude to the Holy Mother of God, and he ordered it taken back to Vladimir. And when the bell was brought back and installed in its place, its peal once again became acceptable to God."[2] It appears then that in the 14th century people knew well which of the bells of the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir had been used to summon the *veche*.

There is additional fragmentary but none the less valuable evidence about *veche* activities elsewhere. In 1138, "the people of Chernigov appealed to Vsevolod" and forced him to make peace with Yaropolk.[3] This is a direct but regrettably rare indication of the role played by the people

[1] Ibid., pp. 365-66.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 469.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 290.

in Chernigov. The *Life of Kirill of Turov* says that he "was made bishop in that town by imploring the prince and the *lyudi.*"[1]

By the 12th-13th centuries the *gorozhane*, or *lyudi*, became such a force in the towns of Ancient Rus that the princes and boyars were forced to reckon with them at all times. Their participation in political affairs and the defence of the towns led to the use of the honorary title *muzhi* on a par with the word *lyudi*. "The *muzhi* of Novgorod" as the posadniks and the princes were wont to address the *veche* were the townsfolk, i.e., the boyars, the merchants, the craftsmen, the whole body of the free population in towns with a *veche* system.

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[1] N. K. Nikolsky, *Materials for a History of Ancient Rus Ecclesiastical Writings*, p. 63.

CIVIC AUTHORITIES

1. PRINCE AND TOWN

Most Rus towns grew up around princely citadels. S. V. Yushkov is quite right in saying that towns were mainly built by the princes, although this "mainly" should not be made a cast-iron rule. That is why there is need to examine the royal authority in the towns.

The so-called *knyazh dvor* was the centre of political and administrative activities in the towns. It was there that thieves caught red-handed in the night were brought for punishment, it was there that the prince and his *tiun* mediated in disputes between townsfolk, and it was there too that the home guard gathered before setting out on a campaign. In short, the *knyazh dvor*. or the *dvor* of the *posadnik* in smaller towns, was the civic centre. But the development of the towns and the emergence of the *lyudi* (the craftsmen and merchants) as a cohesive group of citizens, the so-called *muzhi*, who had become aware of their civic status, tended gradually to limit the role of the prince.

In their age-long struggle for civic freedoms, the townsfolk tried to enthrone only those whom they favoured. Many scholars have not appreciated the role of the towns-

folk in the quarrels of the princes in the throne towns. The change of princes and their quarrels have been regarded merely as a manifestation of the struggle between them. A typical opinion is voiced by such a major authority as A. Y. Presnyakov, who regards as the main feature of the struggle between the princes two "rival trends in the sphere of princely possessions in Ancient Rus. The patrimonial principle led to the complete isolation of all Russian regions with the exception of the Kiev region.... The seniority connected with the possession of Kiev had either to fall or stand transformed...."[1]

His opinions are typical of our scholars who pay scant attention to the towns. That is why his lectures do not even hint at the existence of the townsfolk or of civic activities, which began to take definite shape in the 12th-13th centuries. But the chronicles clearly indicate the period when the townsfolk began to influence relations among the princes. The quarrels among Svyatoslav's sons in the late 10th century were not as yet widely influenced by the townsfolk. But the people of Kiev and Novgorod were far from passive in the struggle which developed after 1015 between Svyatopolk the Damned and Yaroslav the Wise. But it is the Kiev uprising of 1068 that initiated the period when princes were expelled and invited. It is, therefore, one of the milestones in the history of Kiev Rus.

Above I have shown how the townsfolk interfered in the relations among princes. I shall now deal with its purposes and results.

One is struck above all by the unwillingness of the townsfolk to reckon with the princes' seniority rights which were first violated when the people, after the 1068 uprising, lent their support to Svyatoslav Yaroslavich against his elder brother Izyaslav. Seniority rights were once again brushed aside when the townsfolk invited Vladimir

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[1] А. Е. Пресняков, *Лекции по русской истории* (A. Y. Presnyakov, *Lectures in Russian History*), Vol. I, *Kiev Rus*, Moscow, 1938, p. 237.

Monomakh to the Kiev throne instead of his cousin Oleg Svyatoslavich. In the struggle between Izyaslav Mstislavich and Yuri Dolgoruky, the Kiev folk consistently sided with the former, the nephew, and opposed the uncle. The people of Galich acted similarly when they supported Ivan Rostislavich Berladnik against Prince Vladimirko. Of course, there were examples to the contrary, but there was a decided tendency among the townsfolk to lend support to princes of their own choice. This practice became particularly pronounced in early 13th-century Novgorod as will be seen from the following words addressed by the *posadnik* Tverdislav to the *veche*: "And you, brethren, are in *posadnichestvo* and in the princes." In other words: "You have the choice of both *posadniks* and princes."

From a Novgorodite's point of view, the prince should strive to attain the high throne, and this was clearly stated in *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik:* "For when the prince consults a good adviser, he shall attain a high throne, but with a bad adviser he will be deprived of a lowlier one."[1] This idea is more elaborately expressed in a curious memorial, possibly of very early origin. What I have in mind is an article in a *Zlatoust* of Smolensk origin, which gives the "precepts" of a lover of Christ addressed to his "spiritual brethren." The preacher speaks in aphorisms quoting the hermit. He writes: "The *pritochnik* said: 'A wise man is the glory of the prince, while a fool is his undoing; consulting a wise man, he will attain a high throne, and with the fool he will lose a minor throne; the good heart of a prince is the seat of wisdom, but a proud heart is the seat of folly; when he lends his ear to slander, he is ired at the one who gave him the throne; and if he justifies a guilty man for the sake of a bribe he will be judged mercilessly on that day.' "[2]

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[1] *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik*, p. 26.
[2] MS. of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, Uvar. No. 782 (Leon. No. 315), *Zlatoust XVI*, in Quarto, 336, sheet 66 (reverse) et seq.

The preacher and Daniil Zatochnik both describe the prince as a seeker after the high throne which he attains with the help of a counsellor.

As we have seen, the towns willingly supported the claims of junior princes to the high thrones, because the weakening of princely power eventually gave opportunities for winning greater civic privileges at the expense of the princes. The procedure of concluding a treaty—*ryad*—between the princes and the townsfolk was finally established in the 12th century. The treaties between the grand princes and Novgorod, the earliest of which is traced to 1264, are an excellent although a comparatively late example of this practice. The 1264 treaty must have been drawn up according to a more or less established form and gives an idea of earlier *ryads*.

The 1264 treaty is designed to limit princely authority in Novgorod and establish the taxes and services due to the prince. The latter undertook to distribute the volosts only among Novgorodites, to do this with the *posadnik* and refrain from taking away volosts if those who got them from earlier princes committed no offence. As a matter of fact, this was the main provision in the 1264 treaty between Novgorod and Grand Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich of Tver. The other provisions of the treaty follow from its opening lines: "And on this, Prince, kiss the cross to all Novgorod, as thy grandfathers and fathers had done, and as Yaroslav, thy father, had done; thou shalt keep Novgorod as of old ... and thou shalt not hold any volosts by thy men, but only by men of Novgorod; thou shalt take tribute from those volosts."[1]

Agreements with the princes and special treaties, or *ryads*, with them were only possible with the existence of some kind of civic authorities on behalf of whom negotiations with the princes were carried on. In the Novgorod

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[1] *Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov*, p. 9.

treaties they are the *posadnik* and the *tysyatsky* who, in the 13th century, acted on behalf of the *veche* as the supreme magistrate in Great Novgorod. But the question is whether or not the *veche* and such magistrates were peculiar to Novgorod alone. That is why we shall have to make a systematic study of the *veche* and the elective magistrates (who, in my opinion, include the *posadnik*, the *tysyatsky* and the *sotsky*).

2. VECHE

The origin and nature of the *veche* in Rus has repeatedly drawn the attention of historians. V. I. Sergeyevich devoted most attention to it, and said that the "*veche* was not created by the prince; it is an early feature of everyday existence." His main idea is expressed in the following words: "The *veche* institute was a necessary phenomenon in Ancient Rus and for that reason a universal one.... The weakness of the princes naturally led them to seek support in concord with the people and brought the people to the foreground. Although the *veche* was not created by the princes, they had perforce to apply to it. Thus, the *veche* was no singular phenomenon, isolated from other institutions in princely Rus: it was a necessary complement to them."[1]

In another edition of his book, which included only a part of his initial paper, but was written "according to a new plan and on new topics," Sergeyevich explains the importance of the *veche* by the fact that the power of the princes was as yet not strong enough, "while the free population presented quite a formidable force which could either offer the prince active resistance or substantial support.... Might is power, and at the dawn of history might was with the masses."

Sergeyevich believed that the *veche* existed from time

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[1] V. I. Sergeyevich, *Veche and Prince*, pp. 1, 20.

immemorial. It disappeared after the Tatar conquest since the "Tatar devastation must have stunted the development of our towns for a long time."[1] Sergeyevich observes that *veche* practices were preserved in the 14th-15th centuries in places such as Novgorod and Polotsk, which had not been affected by the Tatar invasion.

Sergeyevich was the first to study the role of the *veche* in Russian history, making use of virtually all the available records on the *veche* meetings. He is also right in noting the connection between *veche* activities and the development of the towns but he does not draw the final conclusion as to why it was particularly active in the 12th-13th centuries, because he believed that it originated in high antiquity and that its importance reclined with the growth of the royal authority.

With the recent publication of papers by Grekov and Yushkov, the attention of scholars has once again been focussed on the origin and role of the *veche*. Yushkov criticizes the views of Sergeyevich, believing that the latter did not see any changes in the structure and role of the *veche*. He also disagrees with Klyuchevsky, who asserted that the *veche* was mainly a congregation of merchants and craftsmen in the regional towns. What Yushkov believes is that the *veche* was a conference "of the main feudal groups." He insists that "there was not a single conference claiming the slightest political importance, in which the democratic masses of the town (the petty traders, craftsmen, journeymen and various other plebeian elements) could have been the dominating force."[2] To prove his point Yushkov cites the *veche* meetings of 1113, 1139 (at Tur's Chapel), 1147 in Kiev, and 1159 in Polotsk. "I think," says Yushkov, "that in complete accord with my

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[1] В. И. Сергеевич, *Русские юридические древности* (V. I. Sergeyevich, *Russian Juridical Antiquities*), Vol. II, Issue 1: *Veche and Prince*, St. Petersburg, 1893, p. V (Introduction), pp. 32-33, 38.
[2] S. V. Yushkov, *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus*, p. 195.

general views on the nature of government in Kiev Rus, it may be established that it was not the broad urban democracy of the traders and craftsmen but the feudal urban groups that constituted the main social force."[1]

It is regrettable that Yushkov ignores the word *lyudi,* used to denote the townsfolk who played such an important role in urban uprisings and at *veche* meetings in the 12th-13th centuries. Had he made a closer analysis of the chronicles, his conclusions may have been somewhat different; he could then not have asserted that the 1159 *veche* in Polotsk "was a rally called to stir up enthusiasm among the plotters and influence those who had not yet joined in the plot."[2]

Yushkov believes that the "stamp of emergency marks all the events which preceded the convocation of the *veche* in most of the Russian lands."[3] This is true for most of the *veche* meetings we are aware of, but it should be borne in mind that the Novgorod *veche* are as a rule also mentioned in exceptional cases. I believe Yushkov himself would not deny that the Novgorod *posadniks* were approved at *veche* meetings, but the lists of *posadniks* included people never mentioned in the chronicles. Moreover, the chronicles name a few *posadniks* about whose installation by the *veche* they say nothing at all. And that is perfectly natural because the chronicles are records of various events and not official documents. I fail to understand completely why Yushkov ignores the mention of the *ryad* between the princes and the Kievites. I do not understand how one can analyze the authentic treaties

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[1] S. V. Yushkov, *The Social and Political System and Law in the Kiev State,* p. 350; also his *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus;* the author errs: the meeting at Tur's Chapel was held in 1146 and not in 1139 (see *Ipaty Annals,* p. 229).

[2] S. V. Yushkov, *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus,* p. 206.

[3] S. V. Yushkov, *The Social and Political System and Law in the Kiev State,* p. 360; also his *Essays on the History of Feudalism in Kiev Rus,* p. 216.

between Novgorod and the princes and ignore the reports of the kissing of the cross not only by the *lyudi* but also by the princes. The report that Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk and Kiev folk "gathered at *veche* meetings for discussion"—an absolutely clear testimonial of a contemporary—cannot be explained by the chronicler's desire merely to say that the suburbs had to submit to the "senior" towns. And what are we to do with the report in the West Russian chronicle concerning the existence of the *veche* in Polotsk since time immemorial, or yet with the charter deed of the Smolensk bishopric which the prince granted after "consulting with the *lyudi*"? Yushkov has no answer to this.

In his textbook on the history of state and law in the U.S.S.R., he gives a resumé of his studies of *veche* activities. He says that "with the development of feudalization, when the towns were becoming centres of feudal rule, the various conferences which regarded their decisions as binding were, naturally, conferences of feudal groups or groups associated with feudals in one way or another; this may have included the big merchants who were also landowners and acted as middlemen in the trade involving commodities collected as tribute."[1]

Yushkov doubts that "the democratic masses of the town (the petty traders, craftsmen, journeymen and various other plebeian elements) could have been the dominating force" in any *veche* meeting. That is why he insists that the participants in the 1113 conference in Kiev and even in the *veche* meeting at Tur's Chapel in 1146 (Yushkov again has it erroneously as 1139) were "the main feudal group in Kiev" rather than "the petty traders and craftsmen" since they arrived on horseback fully armed and were, consequently, the very same big merchants who were also landowners. He thinks that *veche* meetings were dis-

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[1] С. В. Юшков, *История государства и права в СССР* (S. V. Yushkov, *A History of the State and Law in the U.S.S.R.*), Part 1, Moscow, 1940, pp. 72-73.

continued because "local feudals had no longer any use for broad civic conferences."

Yushkov's views are clearly at variance with the nature and role of *veche* meetings. To begin with, he seems to forget the class struggle in the Rus towns of the 12th and early 13th century. It was the bulk of the urban population—the craftsmen and petty traders—who made up the "black *lyudi*," whose participation in *veche* meetings is reported by the *Novgorod Annals* even in the early 13th century. The *veche* meeting of 1068 in Kiev was a gathering of the *lyudi* and not of the feudal upper class. For some reason, Yushkov believes that only the members of the upper class could have arrived on horseback. He modernizes his craftsmen, forgetting that in the Middle Ages they were a prosperous class closely connected with trade which was not yet divorced from the handicrafts. There were clear social distinctions among the craftsmen, particularly among the masters and their apprentices. Yushkov himself believes that the *veche* were "mass meetings of ruling elements of the town and land convened for consultations on major issues," but for some reason he finds it impossible to recognize that among these ruling elements may have been the "black *lyudi*" as well. Thus, the class struggle within the towns has not been adequately described by him, although the history of the *veche* in medieval Rus towns is absolutely inseparable from the history of the town proper.

My view of *veche* meetings coincides in the main with that of Grekov in the 1953 edition of his *Kiev Rus*. Objecting to Yushkov's assertion that the main force within the *veche* was the feudal upper class, Grekov gives the basic periods in the history of Russian popular meetings: "The period when the new urban centres flourished is the period of domination of the *veche* system we know so well." This makes it clear that he regarded *veche* assemblies as being closely connected with urban development and the emergence of a new force which was the "town with its mer-

chants and craftsmen."[1] Unless we recognize the existence of this force we shall find Kiev Rus a riddle and practically devoid of political content.

As we have seen, Sergeyevich made use of a great many reports about *veche* assemblies in Ancient Rus, and attempted to answer all the questions relating to their history with purely juridical precision. He arrives at the following conclusions: all freemen took part in *veche* meetings ("these are the *lyudi* without any exceptions"); the *veche* was convened as the need for it arose and always by special invitation; the *veche* gathered on vacant lots and in the open; it had no chairman and was a noisy and haphazard affair; the *veche* elected princes, concluded the treaty—*ryad*—with them, solved administrative and legal problems and the issue of war and peace.

Sergeyevich's conclusions are very well grounded, and he can scarcely be reproached for having made use of sources which range over a long period, since his studies required above all a complete array of facts. But there is another feature of his paper which has, unfortunately, left its trace in historical studies. It is his idea of the extremely chaotic nature of *veche* activities. But this is at variance with the facts.

The account of the Kiev *veche* of 1147 in the *Ipaty Annals* is highly indicative in this respect. It says: At that time, Izyaslav sent to his brother Vladimir in Kiev, because Izyaslav had left him in Kiev, and to Metropolitan Klim and the *tysyatsky* Lazar, telling them: "Summon the Kievites to St. Sophia's, let my envoy convey to them my message and recount the deceit of the Chernigov princes." When all the Kievites, young and old, had gathered at St. Sophia's and had taken their places at the *veche* ("when they stood in *veche*"), Izyaslav's envoy said to them: "Your prince greets you; I announced to you, that I had conferred with my brother Rostislav and with Vla-

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[1] B. D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus*, 1953, p. 368.

dimir, and Izyaslav Davydovich, to march against my uncle Yuri, and asked you to come with me, and you replied—we cannot raise our hand against Yuri, Vladimir's issue, but if it is against the Olegovichi, we shall follow you even with our children... Now, brethren of Kiev, since that is what you wished and promised, follow me to Chernigov against the Olegovichi, gather young and old, those who have horses. And those who have none, follow in boats, for it was not me alone they wished to kill, but to exterminate you also." The Kiev folk replied: "We are happy, if God had spared us of great deceit through you, we shall follow you even with our children, as you desire."[1]

Here is the version of that event in the *Lavrenty Annals:* Izyaslav ... sent two men, Dobrynka and Radilo, to his brother Vladimir and the *tysyatsky* Lazar in Kiev, to say: "Brother, go to the metropolitan and summon all the Kievites, let these two men tell them about the deceit of the Chernigov princes." This Vladimir did, and crowds of Kievites came and sat around St. Sophia's to listen; and Vladimir told the metropolitan: "Here are two men of Kiev whom my brother has sent, let them tell their brethren." And Dobrynka and Radilo said: "Thy brother kisses thee, and bows to the metropolitan, and he kisses Lazar and all the Kievites." And the Kievites said: "Tell us what the prince has sent you with?" And they said: "The prince said thus: 'The Davydovichi and Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich to whom I have done much good, has sworn to me on the cross, but now wished to kill me by a ruse, but I was saved by God and the holy cross on which they took the oath, and now, brethren, follow me on to Chernigov, those who have horses, and those who have not, follow in boats, for it was not me alone they intended to kill, but also to exterminate you.'"[2] Both chroni-

[1] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 245-46.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals,* pp. 299-300.

cles then proceed to describe the discussion at the *veche* of the actions of Igor Olegovich and his murder by the crowd.

These reports about the Kiev *veche* of 1147 are something absolutely exceptional as far as our records are concerned. First of all, it becomes clear that St. Sophia's in Kiev was the usual place for *veche* meetings. Those who came sat down to wait for the *veche* to open. Sergeyevich even thought that benches were built there for the people to sit on. The picture of a seated crowd is a far cry from an unruly mob.

It should not be imagined that the discussion at the *veche* went on spontaneously and that the opening speech was made by the person who convened it, as our scholars usually have it. The 1147 report reveals that those who steered the *veche* were the prince, the metropolitan and the *tysyatsky*. It is noteworthy that Izyaslav's envoy says that his prince "bows to the metropolitan." Grand Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver (1295-1305) opens his treaty with Novgorod with the following words: "A bow from Prince Mikhail to the father, the bishop." This is a formula which was in use in the north even after the Tatar pogroms. Despite Sergeyevich's opinion, I believe that the similarity of reports of the debate at the 1147 *veche* by the *Ipaty* and *Lavrenty Annals* warrants the presumption that a protocol was kept of *veche* decisions. The Novgorod *veche* scribe emerged not in the 15th century but had predecessors in earlier ages.

The procedure adopted by the Kiev *veche* was similar to that in other towns. This follows from a report of the Novgorod *veche* in 1218. Prince Svyatoslav sent his *tysyatsky* as an envoy to the *veche* demanding the removal of the *posadnik* Tverdislav, and the latter spoke at the *veche* in self-defence. Our chronicles only deal with the *veche* in exceptional cases but that does not mean that its activities were limited to the periods mentioned by the chronicles. The *lyudi* "conferred" with the prince or without him much

more frequently than many scholars imagine. What is paramount is that *veche* activities were typical of all major Russian towns. The supreme councils of the town of Kotor on the Adriatic coast were also called the great and little *veche*.[1]

3. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The urban population was not unorganized. It was headed by *tysyatskiye* and *sotskiye*. However, the role of these magistrates cannot be fully understood without some preliminary research. Presnyakov believed that the *tysyacha* (thousand) only made its appearance in this country with the establishment of royal authority. Like other scholars, he was inclined to think that the *tysyatskiye* were mere representatives of the royal administration in the towns. But Nikitsky in his splendid articles about the Ivanskoye *Sto* has disproved the notion that the *tysyatskiye* were voivodes appointed by the prince to rule the urban population. Nikitsky describes the Novgorod *tysyatsky* primarily as the head of the commercial court and as a civil judge.[2] The author's conclusions are unquestionable and are confirmed by the records as far as Novgorod is concerned. But how far are they true for Kiev Rus as a whole? To answer this we must first establish what the words *tysyacha* and *tysyatsky* meant.

Putyata, the first Kiev *tysyatsky* we know of, is first mentioned in 1097 as a voivode of Prince Svyatopolk Izyaslavich. Two years later, the same Putyata attended the Congress at Uvetichi as Svyatopolk's representative, and in 1104 as voivode he led the prince's army against Minsk. Together with his brother Yan Vyshatich, Putyata

[1] I. Sindik, *Komunalno uredjenje Kotora*, Belgrade, 1950, p. 93. (A bell was tolled to convene the great veche.)
[2] A. Nikitsky, *Essays of Great Novgorod, Journal of the Ministry of Public Education*, No. 8, 1870, pp. 201-24.

fought the Polovtsy in 1106. In this manner we learn that he was a member of the famed boyar family whose founder, Vyshata, led the Rus army in a campaign against Constantinople in 1043. The report of the 1113 uprising in Kiev tells of the plunder of the bailey of the *tysyatsky* Putyata: "The Kievites plundered the bailey of Putyata the *tysyatsky*."[1] This bailey is also mentioned in the famous epic about Solovei Budimirovich and Zabava Putyatishna. It is not known when Putyata became *tysyatsky* but his influence at the court of Svyatopolk Izyaslavich can be traced over a period of 15 years. The installation of Vladimir Monomakh in Kiev put an end to Putyata's activities as boyar and *tysyatsky*; in any case, he is no longer mentioned in the records. He was not present at the *tysyatsky* conference at Berestovo. The next Kiev *tysyatsky* we know was Uleb. In 1146, after the death of Vsevolod Olegovich, the latter's brother Igor summoned Uleb and said: "Hold thou the *tysyacha*, as thou didst under my brother."[2] Consequently, Uleb had been *tysyatsky* under Vsevolod Olegovich as well. But as the story unfolds it becomes clear that he was not a protégé of the Olegovichi. It turns out that he was one of the chief plotters among the Kievites who defected to Izyaslav Mstislavich. Evidently, Uleb was a Kievite. This is partially revealed by the mention of Ivan Voitishich, who took part in the plot with Uleb. Initially, the chronicle calls Ivan a boyar of Vladimir Monomakh and his son Mstislav, and later a boyar of Vsevolod Olegovich. He appears, therefore, as a boyar connected with a definite town, rather than with a particular prince. Subsequent reports describe Uleb as a voivode of Izyaslav, who campaigned against Chernigov. We find that the *tysyatsky* Lazar succeeded Uleb in 1147. Other authentic reports about the *tysyatsky* in Kiev date from as late as the period between 1238 and 1240, when Daniil of Ga-

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 198.
[2] Ibid., p. 231.

lich appointed the *tysyatsky* Dmitry to Kiev "and gave Kiev into the hands of Dmitry to hold against alien peoples, the godless Tatars."[1]

It was not only in Kiev that the institution of the *tysyatskiye* existed. The *Ipaty Annals* mention them in Chernigov, Pereyaslavl, Rostov and elsewhere.[2] *Pechera Paterik* traces the genealogy of Rostov *tysyatsky* Georgy down to Shimon, the Varangian.

The reports about the *tysyatskiye* usually reveal their close ties with the townsfolk. They are in command of the home guard—the *tysyacha*. Their importance becomes understandable if we bear in mind that the home guard in Rus towns, as in all medieval towns, was made up of armed craftsmen and merchants. The defection of a *tysyatsky* often decided the issue in the struggle for the throne. As has been seen, Uleb's treason in 1147 helped the descendants of Monomakh to seize power. In the heat of battle, he abandoned the standard and took flight.

Besides being in command of the home guard, the *tysyatsky* had another important function—he administered justice. This is made especially clear by *Russkaya Pravda*, which connects the *tysyatsky* conference at Berestovo with the limitations they imposed on the interest that would be collected on debts. This decision should be linked up with the chronicler's descriptions of the plunder of the bailey of the *tysyatsky* Putyata in the 1113 uprising in Kiev. It appears that the *tysyatskiye* were directly concerned with such problems as usury, which was likewise the cause of recurrent disturbances in medieval West-European towns.

The military and judicial power of the *tysyatskiye* gave them an exceptional position among the urban boyars. Some of them became very prominent politicians, such as Demyan of Galich in the early 13th century. He is first

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[1] Ibid., p. 521.
[2] Ibid., pp. 214, 357.

mentioned as a boyar of Prince Vasilko Romanovich, who had his seat at Belz; three years later he is described as a boyar of Daniil Romanovich and still later as *tysyatsky*.[1] All this time and later, Demyan was in command of the troops and negotiated on behalf of his prince Daniil Romanovich. Together with his prince, he warred against the boyar Sudislav who enjoyed Hungarian support. In 1230, he forewarned Daniil of the plot engineered against him by his cousin Prince Alexander. He is last mentioned in 1231, so that his activities may be traced over a period of some 23 years. Possibly he is the *tysyatsky* described in the legend of Demyan Kudenetovich. Ancient folk marriage ritual reflects the quondam prestige of the *tysyatsky*. The hierarchy of the officials at royal weddings likewise reveals the important role of that magistrate.

The emergence of the *tysyatskiye* in Kiev Rus is closely allied with the appearance of the office of *sotskiye*. What we are here concerned with is not so much the date when the millennial or the centennial divisions made their appearance as the role of the *tysyatsky* and *sotsky* in Ancient Rus towns in the 11th-13th centuries.

It seems fairly certain that as commanders of the townsfolk, the *tysyatskiye* were established in the late 11th century. The first mention of this is made in 1089 where the *tysyatsky* is equated to the voivode. The report reflects a period of transition when the terms were used on a par. This does not mean that the *tysyacha* made its appearance only in the late 11th century. Quite to the contrary, the *tysyacha* became of particular importance as the home guard only with the development of towns, so that although the *tysyatsky* was appointed by the prince he became a representative of the townsfolk. The home guard played a more important role than the *druzhina* in the defence of towns against external attack as will be clear-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 493, 494. In 1213, Dmitr was still *tysyatsky* in Galich (ibid., p. 491).

ly seen from a study of the chronicler's description of the action at Kiev in which its people took part.

The *sotskiye* became prominent in the 12th century and must have had a similar history. Like the bailey of the *tysyatsky* Putyata, their baileys were also plundered in 1113. The Novgorod *sotsky* Stavr was imprisoned in 1118; the Pskov *sotskiye* were imprisoned in 1178; while the *sotsky* Pantelei took part in drawing up the Smolensk treaty of 1229. These various reports reveal that the *sotskiye* were in the thick of political affairs in Russian towns. At all events, by the 12th-13th centuries, the *tysyatskiye* and *sotskiye* were a political force with which the princes had to reckon. Their ties with the townsfolk served to enhance their prestige. The first upshot of this was the establishment of a system under which the posts of *posadnik* and *tysyatsky* became hereditary in some boyar families. The case of Konstantin (Kosnyatin) Dobrynich, who was killed on the order of Yaroslav the Wise, becomes clear if we presume this Konstantin to be the son of Dobrynya, who had done so much to install Vladimir Svyatoslavich on the Kiev throne.

We learn a few biographical facts about Suzdal *tysyatskiye* in the earliest parchment (Arseny) transcript of the *Pechera Paterik*, where the story has been least distorted. It says that the family of the Suzdal *tysyatskiye* sprang from a certain Prince Afrikan, a brother of Yakun the Blind, who in 1024 fought on the side of Yaroslav the Wise against Mstislav of Chernigov. Afrikan had two sons: Friyaid and Shimon. After the death of their father, both were expelled from their estates, and it was then that Shimon joined Yaroslav. This genealogy is confirmed by the *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, which gives a description of the events in question. It says that after the Battle of Listveny, Yakun fled beyond the sea. Other transcripts of the *Paterik* give variants of Friyaid's name as Friad, Fridiyan and Friaid. In each case Shimon's brother is given a name that is not Russian but Scandinavian, which confirms the gene-

alogy of the Rostov *tysyatskiye* reported by the *Pechera Paterik*.

Yaroslav gave Shimon to his son Vsevolod. The *Paterik* makes it clear that Shimon, now called by a new name—Simon—was initially a Catholic, later becoming an Orthodox "with his entire house of 3,000 souls."[1] Georgy, Shimon's son, was no less a personage than his father. He was sent by Vladimir Monomakh to the Suzdal Land: "He (Monomakh) placed his son Georgy (Yuri Dolgoruky) into his care." Later Georgy was *tysyatsky* under Yuri Dolgoruky and ruled the Suzdal region.[2] This report is confirmed by the *Ipaty Annals*, which say that the *tysyatsky* Georgy of Rostov bound the coffin of Feodosy of Pechera, while the Khlebnikov transcript of that chronicle gives Georgy's patronymic as Shimonovich.[3]

The office of *tysyatskiye* was becoming hereditary in some places, and elective elsewhere. Civic magistrates such as the *tysyatsky* and the *posadnik* were elected in Novgorod and Pskov; Kiev, Polotsk and Smolensk, and possibly Galich, were well along the road to this practice. In the latter, the boyars must have had supporters among the townsfolk, due to their military power.

The political power of the major towns was due to their military power, since they were rallying points for the home guard, the bulk of which was made up of armed townsfolk. The demand of the Kievites in 1068 for arms and horses to continue the struggle against the Polovtsy was not due to lack of arms among the urban population. The fact is that they had to be rearmed after losing their weapons in their headlong flight from the field of battle. The home guard was made up of horse and foot. This is made clear by Izyaslav Mstislavich's address to the Kievites: "Make haste all, young and old, those who have horse, and

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 3, 221, 235, 188-89.
[2] "He gave his *tysyatsky* Georgy, as to his father, the Suzdal region." (*Pechera Paterik*, p. 189.)
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 211.

those who have not, then in boats." In another case, the Kievites are described as standing near their town "on horseback and on foot." Sometimes the home guard included all able-bodied persons. Thus, in 1148, the people of Novgorod promised Izyaslav to go to war with all their able-bodied men.[1] The home guard was usually commanded by a *tysyatsky* appointed by the prince. But in the 12th century, the *tysyatskiye* often pursued their own policy, and the home guard was not subject to the prince and was wont to start out regardless of the movements of the prince's *druzhina*. The participation of the townsfolk in the wars of the princes is reported also by the Scandinavian sagas, such as the Eimund Saga.

The establishment of permanent meeting places for the *veche* and permanent seats for the *posadnik* and the *tysyatsky* is another curious phenomenon of the 12th century. In Novgorod such a place was Yaroslav's bailey for the *posadnik*, and the Church of John the Baptist on the Opoki for the *tysyatsky*. Of similar importance in Kiev was Yaroslav's bailey on Gora. The Kievites assembled there in 1146 to take the oath on the cross to Igor Olegovich. That was also where Izyaslav arrived in 1150 with numerous Kievites, and a ceremony was held to proclaim Vyacheslav prince of Kiev. In the "great bailey," as the place was called, entertainments and festivities were held, and the Hungarians amazed the Kievites with their horsemanship. The royal treasury was kept at the "great bailey."[2] Was it a coincidence that the two baileys in Novgorod and Kiev bore the same name? I believe that Yaroslav's baileys in both towns became town halls of a sort because they were closely associated with the name of Yaroslav the Wise, the first prince who began to establish civic privileges.

Urban practices in the 11th-13th centuries were not lost to the subsequent generations. Even the Pskov chronicler

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[1] Ibid., pp. 229, 276, 279, 288, 326.
[2] Ibid., pp. 246, 296, 259-60.

uses the word *veche* to describe popular meetings in the early 17th century. In the 16th-17th centuries, the *veche* bell was often used instead of the curfew bell. Self-government in the urban *posads* in the North was just as early a practice as in the towns of the Grand Principality of Lithuania. Our northern epics have preserved the names of the *sotsky* Stavr, the *tysyatsky* Putyata and the *tysyatsky* Demyan. Russian towns of the period of the princes enjoyed a full-blooded existence and were well along the way to developing their "urban system" much like the towns in the neighbouring countries of Western Europe.

EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF TOWNS

1. TOWN FORTIFICATIONS

Many scholars believe that fortifications were a distinctive feature of medieval European towns. The town was primarily a citadel. The Ancient Rus word *gorod* meant just that, as has been adequately shown by Samokvasov. N. S. Derzhavin gives the following parallels to the Russian term *gorod* in other Slav languages: "In the Czech the term *hrad* today means only 'citadel, castle.' In the Polish the word is *gród,* while a *grodek* is a smaller fortification, a small castle."[1] This latter is almost identical with the word *gradok* used by the chronicler to describe early Kiev which, he says, was built by three brothers.

The central part of a populated locality, its fortress, constituted the *gorod* proper. Colloquially, this usage persisted until the turn of the century, so that Muscovites used the term *gorod* to mean the central part of the capital, the Kremlin and Kitai-Gorod. "Going to gorod" meant going to the stalls in Kitai-Gorod.

In contrast to West-European towns, most of the towns of Ancient Rus had wooden fortifications. In the absence

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[1] Н. С. Державин, *Из истории древнеславянского города* (N. S. Derzhavin, *From the History of the Ancient Slav Town*), Vestnik drevnei istorii, No: 3-4, 1940, p. 147.

of fire-arms and heavy machines for siege purposes, their timbered walls were sufficient protection against attack. The fact that even major towns did not have stone walls should not create the impression that they were poor, for magnificent stone cathedrals were built in them, and, consequently, they had ample means and knew how to build stone walls.

The Eimund Saga gives a good description of urban fortifications in Kiev Rus. Eimund, who was in Yaroslav's service, "sent his men to cut down trees in the forest, to carry them to the town and place them on the town wall ... as a defence against archers. He caused a great moat to be dug outside the town."[1] Thus, he names three elements of the town's fortifications: the moat, the wall, and the *zaborola*, a stockade of wooden balks which served as defence against enemy arrows and stones. A fourth element was the rampart, which rose from the edge of the moat and was often made of the earth from it.

The citadel was usually built on a natural elevation, most frequently on the headland at the confluence of two rivers. The paramount consideration in the choice of a site was its height, and this is true for most Ancient Rus citadels (Kiev, Chernigov, Polotsk, Galich, Pskov, Vladimir-on-Klyazma, and so on). Even the Novgorod keep stands on somewhat higher ground than the surrounding territory. This is one of the reasons why many Slav citadels were called *vyshgorod*.[*] In the absence of rivers, the site was chosen on some steep ravine which made the town inaccessible on all sides. In the woody and swampy lands of Northern Rus, citadels were built on low hills and their approaches were defended by boggy lowland and marshes which served their purpose well for the greater part of the

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[1] М. Погодин, *Исследования, замечания и лекции о русской истории* (M. Pogodin, *Research, Notes and Lectures on Russian History*) Vol. III, Moscow, 1846, p. 243.

[*] *Vysh*—a phonetic variant of the root *vys*—height.—*Tr.*

year. Such citadels usually had a high rampart, such as the one in Dmitrov.

Timber walls were the main type of urban fortification in Ancient Rus in the 10th-13th centuries. Excavations on the site of Ancient Rus towns have revealed exceedingly interesting details of these wooden structures. The fortifications consisted in the main of a rampart with walls and towers similar to those of later *ostrogs*.[1]* The walls consisted of timber structures filled with earth. They were called *gorodnitsi* and, being placed close to each other, held together by their weight. There were cases when such *gorodnitsi*, which made up sections of the rampart, crashed together with their defenders. This happened in the small town of Rimov, in the Kiev Land, in 1185. "Two *gorodnitsi* fell away with the people" during a Polovtsian attack, and "great fear gripped the defenders and the other townsfolk." The besiegers made use of the disaster, broke through the breach and captured the fort.

A rather wide platform ran on top of such walls made up of *gorodnitsi*. It was protected from arrows and stones by a wooden parapet called the *zabrala*, or *zaborola*. Sometimes this term was used to denote the whole of the rampart. The *zaboroli* had embrasures—*skvazhni*—made in them to permit the defenders to shoot at the attackers. The town walls were apparently not very high, otherwise we fail to understand the chronicler's story about the *smerds* who jumped over the *zaborola* during the siege of a Galich town by Ivan Berladnik.

Bitter fighting took place on these *zaboroli* during a siege. It was from there that the defenders showered stones, arrows and spears on the heads of the attackers. The *zaborola* gave an extensive view of the neighbourhood. On such a *zaborola*, says *The Lay of Igor's Host*, Yaroslavna

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[1] Н.Н. Воронин, *Крепостные сооружения* (N. N. Voronin, *Fortifications*), *Istoria Kultury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. I, pp. 439-70.
* *Ostrog*—blockhouse.—*Tr.*

in her lamentation gazed towards the vast and distant steppe where her husband Igor was held prisoner.

The walls were fortified with towers—*vezha*—which were sometimes built on stone foundations. We find a description of a *vezha* in the *Ipaty Annals* for 1259. The tower stood within the Kholm citadel, "which commanded the area around the town." Its foundation was made of stone to a height of 15 cubits but the tower proper was of rough-hewn timbers which were then whitewashed, or, as the chronicler put it, "whited like a cheese."[1] The remains of ancient stone towers were to be seen in the vicinity of Kholm as late as the 19th century. The remains of an ancient tower stood in the village of Belavina. Its west wall made of white and blue stone reinforced with lime, was about 12 *arshins** long, 1.5 *arshins* wide, and up to 30 *arshins* high, and appears to have commanded the crossing over the swamp and the river. A square tower stood near the village of Stolpye, some 10 kilometres from Kholm. It was up to 20 *arshins* high and made of stone. Near it were the remains of a stone foundation.[2] But the two towers were not a part of the town wall and were special forts.

The number of gates leading to a town depended on the size of its population. Kiev had at least four gates (Zolotiye, Zhidovskiye, Lyadskiye and Ugorskiye), Vladimir-on-Klyazma—four (Volzhskiye, Zolotiye, Irininy and Medyaniye). Small citadels had only one gate. What the gates meant to a town is revealed by the expression "open the gates," which signified surrender.

There was a marked tendency to distinguish a main gate in princely towns. In Kiev it was named the Zolotiye Vorota,* possibly in imitation of the Golden Gates in Constantinople. The splendour of the Zolotiye Vorota in Kiev

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 436, 178, 341, 559.
  * *Arshin*—28 inches.—*Tr.*
[2] П. Н. Батюшков, *Холмская Русь* (P. N. Batyushkov, *Kholm Rus*), St. Petersburg, 1887, addenda, pp. 36-37.
  * *Zolotiye Vorota*—Golden Gates.—*Tr.*

was emphasized by the fact that the Church of the Annunciation was built above them. In his sermon, Metropolitan Ilarion gave particular prominence to that church, soliciting the patronage of the Virgin Mary for the whole of the Russian capital.[1]

The Zolotiye Vorota in Vladimir, which stand intact, give an idea of how grand the main gates were. "They are made of white stone in the form of a great square tower with the passageway elongated upwards (the ratio of height to width being 2.5 to 1). Six internal pylons reinforce the walls of the passageway, in the middle of which there is a low arch for the panels of the gate; on top of the arch was a flooring for warriors to beat back the enemies after they entered the gates. The recesses in the walls for the flooring as well as the door which led to it from inside the tower can be seen to this day. The external side walls are supported on either side by six massive abutments in the shape of arches forming niches. The earth ramparts were thrown up to reach these niches."[2] It should be added that not only the ramparts but also the wooden walls were built to the gates.

The Zolotiye Vorota in Kiev and Vladimir were monumental structures of the tower type. They were a sort of strongpoint typical for Russian fortresses. In addition to Kiev and Vladimir, there were stone gates in Bogolyubovo[3] and Pereyaslavl Russky.

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[1] *Russkaya khrestomatia*, compiled by F. Buslayev, Moscow, 1901, pp. 17-18.

[2] А. И. Некрасов, *Очерки по истории древнерусского зодчества XI-XVII вв.* (A. I. Nekrasov, *Essays on the History of Ancient Rus Architecture Between the 11th and 17th Centuries*), Moscow, 1936, pp. 114-15; Н. Н. Воронин, *Оборонительные сооружения Владимира XII в.* (N. N. Voronin, *Fortifications in 12th-Century Vladimir*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 203-39.

[3] The brief chronicle which gives semi-legendary reports but which was evidently compiled by an inhabitant of Vladimir-Suzdal Rus says: "And then Andrei Yuryevich came from Kiev and built the town of Bogolyubny and built a wall around it, and erected two stone churches and a stone gate, and houses. And he had three sons: Izyaslav,

The ramparts were an important element of the fortification system, and were in themselves a formidable obstacle usually reinforced by walls and a breastwork. To this day they remain our best source for the study of ancient fortifications. The term *val* makes its appearance in our records simultaneously with its synonyms *greblya* and *sop*. They may have initially been used to denote the various ways of erecting a rampart.

Archaeological excavations have greatly added to our knowledge of the nature of the rampart and its wooden superstructures. Thus, the defences of the Sarskoye *gorodishche* near Great Rostov, dating from the 11th-13th centuries, consisted of a rampart and wooden fortifications. "When the *gorodishche* was settled, the first rampart was built to protect its weakest side which faced an open field; a stockade was built facing the top of the bend which probably ran along ravines and the crest of the first rampart. After a relatively short period, the stockade, fencing off the square from the top of the bend, was replaced by another rampart. Like the first, it was made of earth piled up on a foundation of burnt timbers or balks which were laid in a close row." The same *gorodishche* yielded wooden walls made of "timber structures set close to each other and covered with earth which was cultivated. The timber structures were between 5 and 5.3 metres wide." *Gorodnitsi,* the timber structures, were also found in other places, such as the settlement of Lipitsy, near Yuryev, where they had been erected for an encampment.[1]

Mstislav and Gleb. In the tenth year of his rule he began to build a stone cathedral church with one cupola in honour of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, in the town of Vladimir as well as a stone gate. He ruled for 28 years and was killed by his boyars, the Kuchkovs." (Quoted from a chronicle in a 16th-century collection, *Istorichesky arkhiv*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1951, p. 211.)

[1] Дмитрий Эдинг, *Сарское гродище* (Dmitry Eding, *Sarskoye Gorodishche*), Rostov Yaroslavsky, 1928, pp. 24-26. Belgorod's rampart was particularly strong; see В.В. Хвойка, *Древние обитатели среднего Приднепровья* (V. V. Khvoika, *The Early Inhabitants of the Middle Dnieper Area*), Kiev, 1913, pp. 76-79.

The walls and the rampart were reinforced with a moat or a *groblya (greblya)* wherever the danger was greater. "A bridge led across the *greblya* to the *gorod* gate." Sometimes it was of the drawbridge type (*vzvodny*) and was raised with the aid of a block (*zheravets*). In 1150 a tax collector raised the bridge which led to Belgorod and saved the town from sudden capture.[1] The bridge was usually supported on pillars as is shown in an illumination of the *Radzivil Chronicle* (page 41, reverse) story of the death of Oleg in the town of Vruchy.

In major towns the fortifications consisted of a keep, the *detinets* (*vyshgorod*), and outer defences. Besides Novgorod, there were *detintsi* in Chernigov and Vladimir. In Novgorod, the *Detinets* was sometimes called *Kromny gorod*, a name which prevailed in Pskov, where the keep was called a *Krom*. This was apparently a derivative of *kromstvo*—the inner part. The Moscow Kremlin (*Kreml*) is possibly of similar origin. In Pskov, both *Detinets* and *Krom* were used to denote the keep. It is curious that the word *detinets* is used in that sense in the Slav translation of the Judaic War of Josephus Flavius, which says: "The Church *gorod* was to the *gorod* proper as a *detinets*," meaning that the Temple of Jerusalem was a kind of keep with respect to the rest of the city. In Southern Rus, the keep, or citadel, was called *vyshgorod*, a term widely used in Slav lands. The well-known 1499 glossary of the Bible renders the Latin *arx* by *vyshgorod*, so that *in arce* was translated as in *vyshgorod*."[2]

The growing towns were soon too crowded in the narrow confines of the *detintsi*, and new urban sections were built near them and surrounded by new walls which served as an outer belt to fortifications. In major centres, the town limits gradually came to include the suburbs protected by stockades, which rose on ramparts of medium

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 288, 504.
[2] I.I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. I, col. 795, 457. "Davyd lived in the *krom, in arce*, or in *vyshgorod*" (ibid., col. 1327).

height. Such a fortification, called an *ostrog*, surrounded Chernigov, among other towns. "And my *druzhina* fought them for eight days from behind the minor rampart," says Vladimir Monomakh about the defence of Chernigov against Oleg and the Polovtsy, "without letting them into the ostrog."[1] In this manner, Monomakh wished to emphasize the courage of his men who held the flimsy fortification of the *ostrog*, i.e., the stockade built on a rampart.

Very often the besiegers succeeded in taking only the *ostrog*, while the inner town, or *detinets*, remained intact. Twelfth-century Kiev had a stockade of wooden poles, a *stolpye*, which ran from the citadel on the hills down to the Dnieper, commanding the approaches to Podol. In one of their raids, the Polovtsy "made a breach in the *stolpye*" and broke into Kiev.[2]

The excavations in Stary Galich reveal in clear outline the system of urban defences there. The keep on the Stary Krilos stood on a rise of ground protected on two sides by the steep banks of the Lukva and the Mozolevy Stream. This elevation had the form of a triangle with its apex in the north and its base in the south, where a rampart was built. A stone cathedral, which stood just behind the rampart, commanded the approaches and served as a strongpoint for the besieged. Running along that rise of ground, the fortification fanned out to the south between the Lukva and the Mozolevy Stream. A second belt stretched between the two streams and consisted of three parallel lines of ramparts whose gates were reinforced by three advance towers.

The fortifications in Pskov mushroomed around the town and had a pattern similar to that of Galich. The earliest part of the town was *Krom* which stood on a high hill, where the Pskova River empties into the Velikaya. Later additions were Dovmontov *gorod* and Sredny *gorod*, both situated between the two streams. The territory beyond

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 240.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 353; *Letopisets Pereyaslavlya Suzdalskogo*, p. 112.

the Pskova River, the so-called Zapskovye, was built up much later. Ancient Moscow, even as late as the 14th century, grew along similar lines, occupying a hill between the Moskva River and the Neglinnaya.

Timber walls and ramparts were typical of the towns in the 10th-13th centuries, but the rapid progress of Russian handicrafts and culture in that period soon led to the appearance of the first stone citadels. *Novgorod Annals* for 1116 give absolutely authentic proof of the construction of a stone fortress in Ladoga. "That same year, Pavel, the *posadnik* of Ladoga, founded Ladoga, a stone *gorod*."[1] The citadel in Staraya Ladoga has been described in a number of papers. In a recent issue of *Novgorodskiye istoricheskiye sborniki,* B. A. Bogusevich shows that the initial 12th-century walls in Ladoga are buried beneath several strata of later origin.

The chronicle for 1090 (*Lavrenty Annals* for 1089) testifies that stone walls existed in Pereyaslavl. Bishop Yefrem founded a stone *gorod* in Pereyaslavl ("he founded a stone *gorod* from the Church of the Holy Martyr St. Fyodor"). This part of the text, distorted in some of the transcripts, can be interpreted as meaning that Yefrem laid a section of the town wall, starting from the Church of St. Fyodor, rather than the whole of the "stone *gorod*." The church stood above a stone gate, from which the construction of the stone walls in Pereyaslavl was begun. The words "the like of this has never been in Rus" in *Ipaty Annals* refer to the stone *gorod*, and in *Lavrenty Annals*, to a stone bathhouse, and cannot therefore be interpreted as indicating astonishment at the construction of a stone citadel in Rus. A "stone *gorod*" was built by Andrei Yuryevich in Bogolyubovo.

Besides, there are indications that there was a stone *gorod* in Novgorod as early as the 11th century. This is described in the *Novgorod Chronicle of God's Churches*,

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[1] *Novgorod Annals,* p. 20.

which says: "Grand Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich campaigned against Lithuania; and in the spring he founded Novgorod and made it of stone on the Sophia side."[1] But this report is not to be trusted overmuch since it was written not before the late 16th century and what is worse was made up of numerous later legends, reminiscences and conjectures. Suffice it to say that earlier records ascribe the campaign to Vladimir Yaroslavich and not to his father, and it was Vladimir too who founded Novgorod. There are no additional reports that any part of it was made of stone.

The conjecture that a stone *gorod* existed in Kiev is still less substantiated, and we find no proof in the records of there having been one. During the siege of Kiev, the battering rams operated day and night and "the walls were broken down, and the townsfolk mounted the remaining section of the wall." When the Tatars captured the first *gorod*, the Kievites built another near the Church of the Tithes.[2] The chronicler makes no mention of a stone *gorod* in Kiev. The need for such stone citadels in the east of Europe probably began to make itself felt at a late date, since timber and earth defences were strong enough to make the Kremenets impregnable against Tatar attack. The magnificent fortifications around Kiev made a great impression on contemporaries. I believe we should interpret Metropolitan Ilarion's words in honour of Yaroslav the Wise in that sense: "Thou hast surrounded thy glorious *gorod* Kiev with magnificence as with a crown." The illuminations in the *Radzivil Chronicle* picture *gorods* which were obviously made of stone. The illumination of the words "and he returned to Vladimir with a great victory" is typical. It shows the Church of the Assumption with five cupolas surrounded by stone walls with a square corner tower in the foreground. But because of the gun in

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[1] *Novgorodskiye letopisi*, p. 181.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 522.

the lower part of the tower it is doubtful that the picture was drawn by the initial illuminator of the chronicle in the early 13th century.[1]

The erection and maintenance of urban defences entailed considerable expenditure. That is why the townsfolk in Rus, like the citizens of medieval West-European towns, took great care of urban fortifications. The builder of fortifications, the *gorodnik*, was a person of distinction in Ancient Rus. Yaroslav's church charter mentions the *gorodnoye*—a tax divided between the prince and the bishop. This tax was apparently used to finance *gorodnoye* construction, which was under the patronage not only of the prince but of the bishop as well. The eminent position of the *gorodniks* is described in an unusual report in the *Novgorod Annals* about the founding in Novgorod of St. Yevfimia's Monastery by Polyud's wife, who is called *gorodshinicha* after the trade of her husband, who was a *gorodnik*. She was most probably the daughter of the *posadnik* Zhiroslav ("Zhiroshka's daughter") mentioned in the annals for 1175.[2] She belonged to Novgorod's upper class and had sufficient means to build a monastery.

2. DETINETS, POSAD, URBAN BLOCKS AND STREETS

The inner citadel (*detinets*, *kremlin*) and the surrounding *posad* were typical urban divisions in medieval times. The term *posad* is undoubtedly of early origin and is used by the chronicle in 1234.[3] Without going into the etymology of the word, I merely note its connection with the name *posadnik*, as the magistrates were called, as well as the fact that *posad* is most frequently used in the northern records

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[1] *Radzivilovskaya ili Kenigsbergskaya letopis*. Photostat copy, published by the Ancient Writings Amateur Society, St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 225 (reverse).

[2] "That same year Polyuzhaya Gorodshinitsya Zhiroshka's daughter founded the monastery of St. Yevfimia in Plotniki," 1197 (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 43; see ibid., p. 35, about Zhiroslav).

[3] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 73.

while the southern use the words *predgradye*, or *predgoro-dye*. Towns in other Slav lands were similarly divided. Czech towns were divided into: 1) a place surrounded by a wall, the town proper; 2) the *posad*, or the *predgorodye*, *(suburbium)* with the dwellings of the townsfolk, the merchant and industrial population.[1]

When the biblical words *in viculis eius et cunctis suburbanis Saron*[2] were translated into the Russian, *suburbium* was rendered as *podgradye*, or *predgradye*. These *predgradye* were usually much larger than the citadel itself and differed from the latter not only in size but in population pattern as well.

We find a similar picture in the towns of Central Asia. Side by side with the citadel (*shakhristan*), where the crafts and trade were initially concentrated, the *rabad*, or suburb, makes its appearance in the 9th-10th centuries. It is said that "the decline of the *shakhristan* as the pre-feudal town, the transfer of the centre of economic and political life to the *rabad* brought about a radical change in the social and economic as well as the topographical features of the town."[3] It is not easy to find a better illustration of how similar social and economic causes led to similar effects in lands that were far distant from each other.

In big towns, the aristocratic quarters lay within the town proper and the democratic in the suburbs, a fact repeatedly noted by our scholars even if somewhat primitively by some.

The inhabitants of the *predgradye*, or *posad*, sought to settle as close to the walls of the citadel as possible for the sake of the protection it offered, but not too far away from the river. The bulk of the *posad* population was made up of craftsmen and merchants, who were particularly

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[1] А. Н. Ясинский, *Падение земского строя в Чешском государстве* (A. N. Yasinsky, *The Fall of the Zemsky System in the Czech State*), Kiev, 1895, p. 108.

[2] I.I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. II, col. 1055.

[3] *History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan*, Vol. I, Tashkent, 1950, p. 238.

concerned with having easy access to water, great quantities of which were needed by such craftsmen as potters and tanners. The citadel with its prince's menials and men-at-arms sought to clamber as high up the hill as possible, while the *predgradye* tended to descend to the water. This gave rise to a striking contrast between the aristocratic *gora* and the democratic *podol* with the homes of the craftsmen who made up separate neighbourhoods of potters, tanners, carpenters, and so forth. The word *podol* itself signified the lowlying section of a town, at the foot of a hill on which the *detinets* was situated. In addition to Kiev, it appeared in many towns, including Chernigov, Novgorod and Moscow. This contrast between the aristocratic and democratic sections may be seen in several towns. The most typical example is probably Kiev which sprawled over an extensive area on several hills and the lowlying riverside. It presented a sharp distinction between the aristocratic *Gora* and the craftsmen's *Podol* quarter. The initial settlement stood on the high hills protected by steep ravines, while *Podol* emerged later when the handicrafts and trade developed and caused the population to move towards the river.

Chernigov was also built on a hill and developed away from the Desna due to the natural conditions which prevented the people from settling on the river-bank. That is why the contrast between the *gora* and the *podol* was not so sharp.

The layout of Vladimir-on-Klyazma resembles that of Kiev. Initially, the town was founded above the Klyazma, on a steep hill surrounded by deep ravines. It spread to the surrounding hills. The similarity of its layout with that of Kiev was also due to the fact that Vladimir's planners imitated the layout of the Southern Rus capital. It is no mere chance that in both towns we discover not only the Zolotiye Vorota but also a stream called the Lybed. Indeed, Vladimir's situation on the hills above the Klyazma is somewhat similar to that of Kiev.

Smolensk, Polotsk and some other towns also stood on

high hills overlooking rivers. Ancient Novgorod's layout with its circular shape is somewhat different. Novgorod spread out gradually in all directions so that its fortifications took the shape of a circle.

The layout of ancient Pskov is semicircular, for it stood on a high and narrow headland at the confluence of the Pskova and the Velikaya. At first, the fortifications grew in one direction—along the territory between the Pskova and the Velikaya. Later Zapskovye* was integrated with the town proper, while Zavelichye** on the western bank of the Velikaya remained a suburb. I think that Pskov's layout was most typical for the towns of the north, including Moscow.

Our fragmentary observations will not as yet bear a summing up. This will be done by future scholars after they discover the laws governing the choice of town sites and their initial planning. It can scarcely be fortuitous that Yuri Dolgoruky, for instance, built the towns of Dmitrov and Yuryev in a depression. This may have been a choice of site suitable specifically for the 12th-century Vladimir-Suzdal Land which lay in Northern Rus. Much depended on a town's history. Kiev and Chernigov, which started as old *gorodishche* citadels on hills, grew in conformity with the lie of the land around them. The princely towns of the 11th-13th centuries were probably planned by the princes with due regard for the natural surroundings. It can be safely said that each type of town layout corresponds to a certain period.

The words *ulitsa**** and *konets* were used in Ancient Rus to denote the various sections of a town. I. I. Sreznevsky believes the word *ulitsa* to be of Russian origin and meaning a passageway between rows of houses. The names of streets varied, but were nevertheless governed by certain laws. This is most clearly revealed in Great Novgorod with its age-long traditions. The first group of

* *Zapskovye*—beyond the Pskova River.—*Tr.*
** *Zavelichye*—beyond the Velikaya River.—*Tr.*
*** *Ulitsa*—street.—*Tr.*

streets was named after persons: Danslav's, Dobrynya's, Ivor's, Yan's. We hear of the Novgorod boyar Danslav Lazutinich who lived in the 12th century, and of another Danslav in the 13th century; there were two Novgorod *posadniks* called Dobrynya, one of whom lived in the late 10th and early 11th century and the other in the 12th; we know of Ivor of Novy Torzhok who took part in political events in the early 13th century,[1] and, finally, a number of Yans and Ivans who were prominent in Novgorod, among them the famous Yan Vyshatich. Another group of streets was named after bynames, such as Yarysh's, Bard's, Chegol's (Shchegol's) and Khrevk's. These names can be traced to the unknown bynames of Novgorodians who were either their first or most prominent inhabitants. Thus, I. I. Sreznevsky thinks that Bard was a personal name, and that the others may have been bynames after which the streets listed above were called.

There are considerably fewer street names connected with the handicrafts or other specializations. Among them are Shchitnaya and Kholopya streets in Novgorod; and possibly Konyukhova, unless it originated from a byname. Three other streets—Varyazhskaya, Chudintseva and Prusskaya—were apparently named after their population. Prusskaya Street takes its name from the Prussians, but the chroniclers say nothing of trade with them. However, the *Life of Avraamy of Smolensk* mentions pious Luka, the Prussian. There is no reason to reject the possibility that Novgorod traded with the land of the Prussians. The merchants who were engaged in that trade could have given that street its name. What is most astonishing is the fact that there were very few streets in Novgorod connected with its topography. Among them is Zapolskaya Street, which ran in the section formerly known as "beyond the field." Bork's Street possibly originated from the word *borok*—a copse. There is yet another group of

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 32, 33, 70, 54.

streets whose names are connected with churches (Fyodor's, Yakov's, Ilya's, Mikhail's).

Even this brief and incomplete information gives ground for the assertion that streets were most commonly named after persons whose homes stood there and who were prominent for some reason or who first settled in those streets. The town grew gradually, and I believe, the names of streets originated spontaneously.

The other term, *konets*, was used to designate a town's quarter ("Kopyr's *konets* in Kiev") which later became a separate section. We have no information about centralized planning in town building. That is why the streets twist and wind even as late as the 18th century, although there was some planning in the reign of Catherine II.[1] The street as a space bordered on either side by houses took shape very gradually as the towns grew and as the convenience of arranging houses in a definite order was realized. In some towns the direction of the streets depended on the ancient roads that converged on the citadel, *gorod*.

Urban streets were narrow. The excavations in the Novgorod Kremlin on the site of the former Bishop (Piskuplya) Street, made on the eve of the Great Patriotic War, revealed an interesting picture of street life in the 16th-17th centuries. There were clear traces of a wooden pavement flanked by the remains of small dwelling houses. The street was so narrow that two carts could hardly pass each other.[2] In the pre-Mongolian period, streets could scarcely have been much broader.

This is proved by archaeological studies of ancient Novgorod pavements. They revealed that the technique of laying ancient pavements was very much different from later practice. Ancient pavements were much narrower (not over 2.5 metres), and consisted of a flooring of round unhewn poles whose ends were inserted into side

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[1] The plans are available in a special volume of addenda to the *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire.*
[2] Excavations by A. A. Strokov and V. A. Bogusevich.

logs.[1] Several layers of such pavements were discovered in Novgorod, a fact which argues that constant care was taken of urban amenities almost as early as the 10th century.

There were similar pavements in other more or less important Rus towns. An ancient story, dating from the late 13th century, says that during the funeral of Prince Fyodor Rostislavich in Yaroslavl, "some (in their grief) struck their heads against the earth and others against the pavement." A special group of officials—*osmenniks*—were in charge of bridges and pavements. The origin of the term is obscure, and may possibly be compared with the later tax known as the *osminichye*. In any case, the *osmenniks* were men of great prestige and belonged to the aristocratic classes, otherwise Yuri Dolgoruky would never have attended a banquet at the home of the Kiev *osmennik* Petrilo.

In major towns, the need had already arisen for the construction of bridges across the big rivers. The first bridge across the Dnieper at Kiev was built in 1115.[2] The bridge in Novgorod across the Volkhov, known as the Great Bridge, is mentioned only in 1133, when the first one was dismantled and a new one built. Since then it became an object of particular care on the part of the civic authorities, and the chronicler faithfully records cases when it was damaged by wind or flood. The Galich chronicler reveals another detail of urban amenities in Rus. Daniil Romanovich "planted a beautiful orchard" in his favourite Kholm (in 1259), apparently near the Church of the Saints Kozma and Demyan. There may have been a similar orchard in Galich as well, which to this day has a place called "Prokaliyev orchard" on the site of the Church of St. Ilya. "Prokaliyev" is an abbreviation of the words "Prorok Iliyev" (of Prophet Ilya).

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[1] А. А. Строков и В. А. Богусевич, *Предварительный отчет о раскопках в Новгороде в 1939 г. (южная часть кремля)* A.A. Strokov and V. A. Bogusevich, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations in Novgorod in 1939 [South Section of the Kremlin]*), *Novgorodsky istorichesky sbornik*, Issue 7, Novgorod, 1940, p. 17.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 336, 203.

The *torg*, or *torgovishche*, was the civic centre; these words were used at random and were identical.

The *torg* was usually situated in the lowlying part of a town, in its riverside section. It may be presumed that the site for a market-place was chosen from geographical considerations. Thus, the Novgorod *torg* lay near the Volkhov and the river landing-stages, the so-called *vymols*. The German and Gothic counters and the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki also stood in that part of the town. In other towns, the sites of the ancient *torgs* can be determined by the present-day markets which were traditionally situated on ancient sites. The market-place in Dmitrov lay on the bank of the Yakhroma River, near the rampart which surrounded the ancient citadel. In Kolomna, the market-place was also just beyond the town walls. We find a similar picture in Moscow, where the rows of stalls ran in Kitai-Gorod on the ancient market site just beyond the Kremlin walls on the bank of the Moskva River. In Pskov, the market was also situated just beyond Krom, the ancient citadel. The arrangement is similar in Suzdal, Volokolamsk, Serpukhov and other northern towns, as well as in Chernigov in the south. Thus, the market-place as a rule sprang up beyond the town walls, where the craftsmen and merchants settled, but not too far away from the town gates. Bearing in mind that the citadel was usually the earliest nucleus of a budding town, it becomes clear that the *torg* was a secondary phenomenon, the result of the settlement of newcomers.

Towns in Central Asia present a similar arrangement of citadel and market-place just without the gates. "The initial interpretation of the word *bazaar*," say the authors of a history of Uzbekistan, "was characteristic. According to V. V. Bartold, it means 'business at the gate.'"[1] The fact that fires were reported in the market-place leads us

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[1] *History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan*, Vol. I, p. 215.

to infer that it had permanent structures in which trade was carried on. The excavations in Dmitrov yielded a "stall on piles" in the 12th-13th century layer.[1] This fact alone is naturally insufficient to allow us to judge the nature of the premises used for trade in Kiev Rus, and we shall have to await additional evidence from the spade.

The word *lavka* apparently originated at a late date and was connected with the word *lavitsa*—a stall. Could this not be an indication that stalls were initially used in the market-place and were permanent like the stall supported on piles in Dmitrov?

The market was the central and busiest place in big towns, and was usually graced by one or several churches. The patron saints for these market-place churches were not chosen at random. On the whole, there were two commercial patron saints in Rus: Paraskeva Pyatnitsa and Nikolai Mirlikiisky. Very often a Pyatnitsa Church stood in the market-place, as will be seen in a number of towns, such as Novgorod, Chernigov, Polotsk, Dmitrov. Kiev was a possible exception, but I am not too sure of this. Even the most cursory observations show that the custom of erecting a church in the name of Pyatnitsa in the market-place was very widespread.

The location of that church, at least in Northern Rus, gives almost a perfect indication of the place where the market square initially lay. The custom of building the Church of Paraskeva Pyatnitsa in market-places is due to the fact that the name Paraskeva in Greek meant Friday, a day of the week revered in pagan times. This was apparently why Friday was widely observed as a holiday.[2] The fact that Friday was held in particular reverence by traders was due to the custom of holding fairs on Fridays (the so-called Pyatnitsa *torgs*), a practice traced back to

[1] А. В. Арциховский, *Введение в археологию* (A. V. Artsikhovsky, *Introduction to Archaeology*, Moscow, 1940, p. 141.

[2] Дмитрий, *Месяцеслов святых* (Dmitry, *A Calendar of the Saints*), Issue I, Kamenets-Podolsky, 1893, pp. 215-19.

ancient times. The great 1194 fire in Novgorod broke out "on Friday during a fair."

The connection between the churches dedicated to Nikolai Mirlikiisky and the markets is not as clear. However, we discover St. Nikolai's Church in market square in Kiev's Podol. In Novgorod, the Nikolo-Dvorishchensky Cathedral stood very near the market-place. A *Collection of St. Nikolai's Miracles* compiled in the late 11th and early 12th century testifies that churches to St. Nikolai stood in all Rus towns. The cult of Nikolai Mirlikiisky was also widespread in Western Europe, whereas Pyatnitsa was particularly revered among the Southern Slavs. This reveals the various ways in which the cults of Pyatnitsa and Nikolai came to Rus from the South Slav lands and from Western Europe.

This gives rise to a question which at first sight appears to have a bearing on art alone but is actually of much wider import. Wooden statues of Nikola have been preserved from the earliest times showing him with a sword in one hand and an image of a church in the other, while sculptures of Pyatnitsa show her holding a cross.

Sobolev, who has studied the history of woodcarvings in Russia, holds the traditional view that such images were produced under Western influence. He is prepared to ascribe the widespread existence of statues of Nikola of Mozhaisk to the Polish intervention of the early 17th century, although he notes that "carvings" of Pyatnitsa and Nikola existed in Pskov in 1540.[1]

Nekrasov, another student of Russian fine arts, believes that the statue of Nikola of Mozhaisk (at the Tretyakov Gallery) "was fashioned in Byelorussia in the twenties of the 14th century at the order of the Moscow Metropolitan Pyotr." But he gives no proof that this sculpture was connected with the Metropolitan Pyotr.[2] He holds that the

[1] Н. Н. Соболев, *Русская народная резьба по дереву* (N. N. Sobolev, *Russian Woodcarvings*), Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, p. 380 et seq.

[2] А. И. Некрасов, *Древнерусское изобразительное искусство* (A. I. Nekrasov, *Fine Arts of Ancient Rus*), Moscow, 1937, p. 203 et seq.

statues of Pyatnitsa and Nikola brought to Pskov were also made in Byelorussia. Nekrasov does not provide any proof of his contentions and this deprives us of the possibility of checking his conclusions. Thus, he accepts, without any reservations, the Catholic legend about the trip of the Polotsk Princess Paraskeva to Rome, apparently linking her with the cult of Paraskeva Pyatnitsa, which actually spread in Rus only with the advent of Christianity.

However, Nekrasov's general idea that the statue of Nikolai was adopted from Western Europe, appears to be correct. In Western Europe, Nikolai Mirlikiisky was regarded as the patron saint of merchants, sailors, the flax industry, etc. He was depicted in the vestments of a bishop holding a model of a church.[1] In Russia, Nikolai Mirlikiisky was also a patron saint of merchants and those who sailed the waters, which is why churches in his honour often stood in the vicinity of landing-stages. The cathedral of Nikola Gostunsky in the Moscow Kremlin was built on the site of the old church of Nikola Lnyanoi.* This means that in Rus too Nikola was a patron saint of the flax merchants.

Pyatnitsa Paraskeva was usually depicted as a martyr holding a cross. The fact that the statues of Pyatnitsa which have come down to us are of late origin does not prove that her cult was a late one. At all events, one important feature is clearly revealed in this devotion to carved figures and the cult of Nikola and Pyatnitsa. It is their connection with the market-places and the merchants, whose patrons they were. The fact that Nikola carries a sword in one hand has a special significance. I shall venture the presumption that this sword was a symbol and that initially his statue stood in a niche in church which gave rise to the practice of keeping it in icon-cases —the *khramets*. In such a *khramets* Nikolai's statue was a

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[1] R. Pfleiderer, *Die Attribute der Heiligen*, Ulm, 1898; *Die Patronate der Heiligen*, Ulm, 1905.

* *Lnyanoi*—of flax.—*Tr.*

symbol of protection and inviolability of the market-place similar to the famous statues of Roland which were a fixture of market squares in medieval Germany. Pyatnitsa's statue with a cross in her hands could have initially played a similar role. I believe that Pyatnitsa was the first of the two symbolic figures to make its appearance, although there is no definite proof of this.

The customs which helped to maintain strict order in the market-place were well known in Ancient Rus, and this is confirmed by a Scandinavian saga, which is very reminiscent of some of the provisions in *Russkaya Pravda*. Here is what it says:

"Olaf once happened to stand in the market square where a great multitude of people had gathered. There he recognized Klerkon, who had killed his tutor Torolv Ljusaskägg. Olaf had a small axe in his hand; he walked up to Klerkon and sank his axe into the other's head up to the brain. Olaf ran back to the inn and told of this to Sigurd, his relative. Sigurd immediately led him to the palace of the Konung's wife Adlogia and after relating what happened, asked her to help the youth. She looked at the youth and said: It is not proper that such a comely youth be killed, and ordered all her bodyguards to gather in full armour. In Holmgard (Novgorod) universal peace was so strictly observed that anyone who had killed another without trial was punished by death. Now all the people had gathered, according to their customs and laws, looking for Olaf in his hideout and wishing to deprive him of his life, as the law ordered. Then a rumour spread that he was at the palace of the Konung's wife and that the men-at-arms stood fully armed ready to protect him. Later, this became known to the Konung, who hastened with his bodyguards and prevented both sides from shedding blood. He first calmed both sides and then reconciled them. The Konung ordered a monetary fine paid for the murder, and the Konung's wife paid it."[1]

[1] *Russky istorichesky sbornik*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1840, pp. 41-43.

The square and the great multitudes of people present a vivid picture of the market-place in Novgorod. A murder in the market-place was a most serious crime, but scarcely a very rare one. No wonder Rus treaties with the Greeks stipulated that Rus merchants were to enter the towns unarmed to prevent bloodshed and violence in the market-places.

4. URBAN STRUCTURES AND THE OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF TOWNS

The outward appearance of a town depends primarily on its buildings so that to give a picture of how the streets and squares of Ancient Rus towns looked, I shall have to describe urban buildings of the 9th-13th centuries. This is no easy task, since the number of written records dealing with the architecture and arrangement of buildings in Ancient Rus is small, while archaeological facts have not yet been systematized. Moreover, the written records deal mainly with royal structures,[1] whereas we are here concerned primarily with the buildings of the townsfolk which made up the bulk of urban structures and lent Rus towns their characteristic features.

Russian towns were built mostly of wood. This made the urban structures short-lived and hard to study even with the spade. The fact that Russians gave preference to wooden dwellings was not due to their poverty, but mainly to the obvious advantages that wooden structures offered in a cold climate with its long wet autumn and spring. Stone houses without a complicated heating system could do well for the towns of Greece and Italy, but in Ancient Rus warmth was the all-important thing, and this resulted in less sturdy and imposing but more convenient wooden homes.

[1] See V. F. Rzhiga, *Essays on the History of Everyday Things in Pre-Mongolian Rus.*

There were several types of structures in Ancient Rus. There was the term *klet*, which served to render various Greek words denoting houses. The *klet* was a wooden structure as will be seen from a story about the Smolensk folk who "broke up *kleti* (timber structures) with the aid of poles."[1] The term *kletski* was used in the 16th-17th centuries to denote a church built in the form of a square timber structure similar to the common *izba*.

The *izba* is also an early term used specifically to denote a warm building. We glimpse a few facts about the *izba* from the story of the murder in Kiev of the Polovtsian Khan Itlar. Monomakh invited Itlar and his retinue to visit him.

When Itlar entered his warm *izba*, he was locked in. One of Monomakh's men-at-arms then "climbed on top of the *izba*, and, digging a hole in the roof," killed the Polovtsy one by one with arrows.[2] The story shows that the *izba* was a warm house and, consequently, had a stove. Its roof was covered with a layer of earth, hence the words "dug a hole." Every *izba*, or *klet*, whether big or small, whether it stood on the surface or was a semi-pit-dwelling, was situated in a separate yard, and was regarded as a separate piece of property belonging to a single owner. It served as a unit of taxation. A paling (*tyn*) or a wattle fence (*pleten*) separated one yard from another. Disputes often arose about their boundaries. This explains why *Extensive Russkaya Pravda* provided for the punishment of those who "built palings across the yard boundaries." Such yards surrounded by palings made up the typical street in Ancient Rus towns. Of course, the boyar and princely dwellings stood out in sharp contrast among the other urban buildings. Rzhiga describes these royal palaces of the 10th-13th centuries, which at times were matched by the sumptuous dwellings of such Kiev boyars as Borislav, Vorotislav, Gordyata, Nikifor, Ratsha, Chudin and others.

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol. XV, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 443.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 220.

A boyar or princely *dvor* (court) consisted of a number of structures built close to each other or linked by galleries. The other structures were apparently much smaller. V. F. Rzhiga notes the role played by the *seni* in the first storey of the palatial buildings. The *seni* "were premises which served as a hall between the *kleti*: it was where the prince sat with his men-at-arms and held banquets, and it was where his throne stood."[1] We find an imposing picture of a royal court in the story of the death of Vladimirko of Galich. When Pyotr, Izyaslav Mstislavich's envoy, arrived at the royal court, he was met by the prince's servants who came out of the *seni* wearing black cloaks (*myatli*). Pyotr entered the *seni* and found Yaroslav sitting in his father's place.[2] There was a system of structures and rooms in the court of the Galich prince. Among them the chronicler names the *seni* and the *gorenka*, the galleries and the stairs (*stepeni*) leading to the *khory* (galleries) of the palace Church of the Saviour.

Rzhiga believes the *gridnitsa* to have been a special palace hall. But it may have been merely another name for the *seni*. That is why we find in it the "father's place" similar to the one in the *seni* of the Galich prince. I must add that the fact that "father's place" (*otnee mesto*) was consonant with *öndvegi* is a mere coincidence. The latter was a raised seat occupied by the leader of the Scandinavian *druzhina*, and one must have a very vivid imagination indeed to compare the two terms (aside from the actual role played by *otnee mesto*).[3]

A part of the richer edifices towered above the lowly dwellings of the craftsmen and other townsfolk. A prominent part of the boyar and royal edifices was the *terem*—"apparently a high tower or loft with rooms for women." *Vezha* was another term used to denote the towers in the

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[1] Rzhiga, *Essays on the History of Everyday Things in Pre-Mongolian Rus*, p. 11.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 319.
[3] Rzhiga, op. cit., p. 9.

town as well as the lofts in private houses. The chronicler gives a colourful picture of the Ancient Rus town in his description of the 945 fire in Iskorosten: "And thus the flames embraced the *golubnitsi*, or *kleti*, or *vezhi*, or *odriny*."[1] The flames spread to the high pigeon lofts, the houses, the attics, the towers and the barns.

The wooden houses were adorned with beautiful carvings. The *Radzivil Chronicle* contains a drawing of the *seni* of the Varangian martyrs. A board ornamented with fancy patterns runs under the cornice of the *seni*. The same chronicle shows a royal court as a bailey surrounded by a fence with sharp stakes.[2] Such a bailey became a veritable fortress in case of attack, and the sturdy fence and gates could withstand a long siege.[3] *Russkaya Pravda* describes the boyar keep as an impregnable sanctuary for the *kholop* who flees for his life after assaulting a freeman.

The boyar estate, and particularly the royal estate, was well stocked with supplies. Those who plundered the bailey of the Galich boyar Sudislav found "wine and fruit (*ovoshcha*), and fodder, and spears, and arrows."[4] The royal and boyar baileys, surrounded by a high fence, contained not only the keep but also the outbuilding, such as the *medushi*, where honey was stored, the cellars, bathhouses, and even gaols, the so-called *porubs*. The *Radzivil Chronicle* shows the *porub* as a surface building with a latticed window on top. It also gives a picture of a similar building with three windows showing the peering faces of the Polotsk Prince Vseslav and his two sons.[5] Vseslav was incarcerated in the Kiev bailey of his father Bryachislav and was possibly kept in the palace keep rather than in a common gaol. The records give a much more appalling description of the gaols. The inmates were kept in dun-

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 58.
[2] *Radzivil Chronicle*, p. 48 (reverse), and 100.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 248.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 506.
[5] *Radzivil Chronicle*, illustration to the 1068 uprising.

geons timbered over on top with only a small window through which food was passed. To free a prisoner from such a cellar the upper layer of the timbers had to be taken apart. Prisoners were often kept in irons. Princes frequently forgot about such prisoners for a long time. Another description says that these dungeons had doors and were locked for the night, and the ladder leading down into them removed.[1]

Wooden structures were widely used in church buildings. The original design of some wooden churches is described by the chroniclers. The first wooden church in Novgorod (St. Sophia's) was built in 989—"it had 13 cupolas and stood for 60 years." Another report says that it was made of oak.[2] Endless conjectures can be made about how this church with its 13 cupolas looked, but we cannot ignore the fact that the construction of 13 cupolas is an indication of the skill of the carpenters who built it.

An oak church—"to the Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary"—was built at about the same time (991) in Rostov Veliky. It was so remarkable that such a one "never existed and never will exist."[3] The church built in Vyshgorod under Yaroslav the Wise in honour of Boris and Gleb is described in somewhat greater detail. It was built like a *kletsa*, i.e., like an ordinary square house. Later "the prince adorned the church with 5 cupolas, and every kind of ornament, icons and other paintings."[4] The building apparently resembled a stone five-cupola church. Contemporaries were particularly impressed by the height of these wooden churches, their cupolas and beautiful design, which often aroused wonder and prompted such attributes as "marvellous." As has been seen, towns in Ancient Rus were adorned with beautiful buildings, magnificent churches

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[1] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb,* pp. 20, 60-61.

[2] *Novgorodskiye letopisi,* pp. 2, 173.

[3] *PSRL,* Vol. XV, p. 115.

[4] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb,* p. 18.

and palaces which lent them an air of opulence. Wood made these buildings short-lived but did not deprive the towns of their rich attire.

Up to now I have dealt with wooden structures only, but there were also stone buildings in Russian towns. Stone architecture had a different fate in Ancient Rus: many church buildings stand to this day. However, we learned of the existence of some stone churches only during excavations. That is why the provisional list of stone churches in Kiev Rus compiled by Golubinsky in his history of the Russian Church should be regarded as incomplete and even as being at variance with the much greater number of stone churches which existed in Ancient Rus.

It is not the purpose of this book to make a study of stone architecture in Kiev Rus. This has already been done by specialists, but some of its features in the 11th-13th centuries have a direct bearing on my subject. All towns claiming importance aspired to the building of majestic cathedrals in honour of their patron saints. "To lay down one's life for St. Sophia" was a Novgorod slogan which was identified with the defence of the town. Stone cathedrals make their appearance in major towns as early as the 11th century (Kiev, Novgorod, Chernigov, Polotsk). Their existence was a sure indication of the real importance of a throne town in Ancient Rus. In the 12th century, magnificent cathedral churches were built in Galich, Vladimir Volynsky, Vladimir-on-Klyazma, Suzdal, Rostov, Smolensk, an indication of their growth. The cathedral was usually the most pretentious edifice in a town and stood out in size and beauty among the other buildings. Its cupolas were often gilded to enhance the impression it created. It was in that period that the gilt-domed churches of the Cathedral of the Assumption type in Vladimir Zalessky made their appearance. Kiev stood out among the other towns in the construction of cathedrals. The Church of the Tithes alone failed to satisfy the demands of the Kiev folk and they erected the Sophia and Mikhail Gilt-Domed cathedrals,

apart from the "great church" in Kiev Pechera Monastery.

As urban life developed, the townsfolk built stone parish churches. This is clearly evident in Great Novgorod where the chronicles describe local events in detail.

These stone churches and cathedrals were not only places of devotion and structures embellishing the cities. We have seen that they were also used as warehouses, treasuries and even libraries. Finally, they were a part of the town's defence system. During the siege of Galich in 1219 one of its churches was turned into a citadel.[1] It appears that in the Tatar siege of Kiev, a similar role was played by the Church of the Tithes which collapsed under the weight of the people who had clambered on top of it. This may also be true of the monasterial stone churches which stood around the bigger Rus towns. Like Antony, Yuri, Arkazh and other cloisters around Great Novgorod, they commanded the approaches to the towns.

There were very few secular buildings made of stone—I should say that we have scarcely any reports about them. The best known of these is a stone house built in Kiev in the 10th century which stood without "the town" and was a kind of bailey with a keep in it. Andrei Bogolyubsky's keep or a part of it (possibly only the stone galleries) stands to this day in Bogolyubovo. Yet, secular architecture in stone was not typical for Kiev Rus, which successfully realized its design in wood. The admiration which the decorations of royal courts excited was expressed by the word *krasny* (beautiful), as contemporaries often called them. Here are the accusations of an ancient preacher against luxury: "We love gold and acquire riches, we love spacious cathedrals and ornamented houses."[2] No wonder the epics so often describe the spacious chambers where Prince Vladimir Krasnoye Solnyshko sat with his mighty warriors.

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 493.
[2] MS. of the U.S.S.R. Lenin State Library, *Rumyantsev Collection*, No. 406. *Collection of the Mid-15th Century*, p. 26 (reverse).

A collection of 12th-century sermons gives an interesting description of the life of a rich townsman who acquired riches by plunder. The preacher rebukes him and contrasts his circumstances with those of the poor man: "Thou eatest grouse, geese, chickens, pigeons and other diverse viands, and the poor man lacks bread wherewith to fill his stomach; thou art clothed in rich raiment and furs, while the poor man has not a rag wherewith to cover his body; thou livest in a house, with a richly decorated bedroom, while the poor man has no place to lay his head upon. But thou, rich man, shalt also die, and thy house shall stand, for ever testifying to thy deeds. And every passer-by will say: this is the house of the thief that robbed the orphans ... his court is empty."[1]

This philippic describes the amazement at the boyar or merchant edifice which stood out among the lowly dwellings of the townsfolk. The feudal system gave rise to crying contradictions between the classes which were evident in the streets and squares of Ancient Rus towns as they were in French, Polish, Armenian, Uzbek and other towns. The rich estate with its orchard, whose owner often called it a "paradise" or *samorai,* usually stood in the vicinity of a stone cathedral or boyar palace. But near it also clustered the lowly huts, often of the semi-pit type. The authors who admired the beauty of Ancient Rus buildings reveal only the ostentatious side of urban life of that period. Reality was much more modest, but it too, in all its modesty, impressed the minds of contemporaries. And there is nothing surprising in that since the towns of Ancient Rus, like all medieval towns, were a progressive phenomenon, they were a far cry from the medieval village even in outward appearance.

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[1] И. И. Срезневский, *Древние памятники русского письма* (I. I. Sreznevsky, *Ancient Memorials of Russian Writing and Language*). St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 203.

Chapter Seven

URBAN CULTURE

1. LITERACY

Urban culture in Ancient Rus has scarcely been studied at all. It has been given very little attention even in the big two-volume edition of the history of Ancient Rus culture of the pre-Mongolian period, and still less in the papers on the architecture, painting and literature of that period. The section of "The Culture of Ancient Rus" in the 9th and 13th centuries in such a comprehensive work as the *Essays on the History of the U.S.S.R.* is typical in this respect. It proclaims the very correct thesis that "the culture of the peasants and urban craftsmen constituted the basis of Ancient Rus culture."[1] But elsewhere in the book the art of writing, literature and art are, in a very obscure way it is true, declared to have been monopolized by the "feudal landowners," and it is only folklore that is regarded as having been the product of the poetic spirit of the common people.

It is true that the literary, architectural and fine arts memorials, which have come down to us from the 11th-13th centuries, were mainly ordered by the feudal lords. But they

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[1] *Essays on the History of the U.S.S.R. Feudal Period 9th-15th Centuries*, Part 1, p. 206.

likewise reflect the tastes of the craftsmen to a greater degree than those of the feudal lords themselves. Art objects were designed and fashioned by the master craftsmen. The feudal lords, naturally, made known their wishes as to the general character of their buildings, arms and ornaments but produced nothing themselves, and had their ideas realized by others. Urban craftsmen played a most conspicuous role in the creation of art objects which has not yet been studied, so that the culture of Ancient Rus appears to be one-sided in many historical papers. It would be a vain attempt to discover even a paragraph on urban culture in our general and specialized publications. Scholars lost sight of the town and its culture in Kiev Rus, although urban culture in medieval Western Europe continues to attract the attention of researchers.[1]

One of the premises for the development of urban culture was the spread of literacy. The remarkable discoveries of Soviet archaeologists prove that the art of writing was widespread in the towns of Ancient Rus. Before that *graffiti* were known to have existed on the walls of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod, Vydubitskaya Church in Kiev, St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, Panteleimon's Church in Galich, etc. They were made on plaster by a sharp instrument known in Ancient Rus writings as *shiltse*. It was not the feudals or churchmen but the rank-and-file merchants, craftsmen and other parishioners who made these inscriptions, leaving a record of their visits in the form of this peculiar mural literature. This custom of making inscriptions on walls is in itself an indication that literacy was widespread in the towns. Fragments of prayers and invocations, names and phrases scratched on the church walls show that their authors were literate people and that this literacy, if not universal, was neither the monopoly of an exclusive circle of townsmen. It should be borne in mind

[1] Н. А. Сидорова, *Очерки истории ранней городской культуры во Франции* (N. A. Sidorova, *Essays on the History of Early Urban Culture in France*), Moscow, 1953.

that these *graffiti* were preserved by mere chance. It can be imagined how many of them perished in the various renovations of ancient churches, when in the name of "splendour" the walls of remarkable buildings were plastered over and painted.

Inscriptions dating from the 11th-13th centuries were recently discovered on household utensils, which, being intended for everyday use, were therefore meant for people who could read them. If some of the *graffiti* may have been done by the clergy, even of the lower orders, it is scarcely probable that the inscriptions on wine pots and lasts were made by princes and boyars. It is obvious that they were made by people in entirely different walks of life, whose writings have now become available thanks to the accomplishments of Soviet archaeologists and historians.

Such inscriptions are particularly common on cross-pieces, the little pendants used on spindles. They were manufactured from rose slate produced near the town of Ovruch (the ancient Vruchy), whence they spread all over Eastern Europe. In Ryazan, we find such a cross-piece with the inscription "Molodilo," in Novgorod—"Martin," in Vyshgorod, near Kiev, "*nevestoch*," in Kiev—"Potvorin *pryaslen*," etc. These inscriptions on cross-pieces indicate that the art of writing was a common necessity. They resemble the inscriptions of names on later rings. The cross-pieces were possibly presented to brides which is why they bear personal names, and one of them even the word *nevestoch* (the bride's). It should be noted specifically that some of these objects were found in Kiev, Chernigov, Staraya Ryazan and other towns.[1] The inscriptions were made by literate people for others who were mostly, if not always, literate too.

The finds in Novgorod are still more remarkable. One of them dating from the 12th-13th centuries is the bottom of a barrel with a clear inscription saying *yurishchina*. Bear-

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[1] B. A. Rybakov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Rus*, pp. 188-202.

ing in mind the ancient custom of using personal names in the diminutive and the augmentative, *yurishchina* must have meant a barrel belonging to one Yurishche, Yuri. We find the word *Mnezi* on a wooden last. This was apparently a feminine name. Two other inscriptions are abbreviations of names made on a bone arrow and a birch-bark float. But the most interesting by far is the discovery of the so-called Ivansky cubit, during the excavations on the site of Yaroslav's bailey in Novgorod. It is a chip off a yardstick bearing an inscription in 12th- or 13th-century script.

Another remarkable object is a wooden cylinder from Novgorod. It bears a carved inscription saying *"emtsya grivny 3."* An *emets* was an official of the prince who collected court and other taxes. The cylinder must have served as a repository for *grivnas* and bore an inscription to that effect.[1]

The Novgorod finds indicate that writing was widespread among the craftsmen and merchants, at least in Novgorod. But inscriptions on household utensils were not peculiar to Novgorod alone. Rybakov describes a fragment of a Kiev pot which bore an inscription. He deciphered the greater part of it and the whole must have read as follows: "Abundantly filled this pot is." The part on the fragment reads: *"nesha plona korchaga si."*[2*] A. L. Mongait reports a similar though somewhat longer inscription made in 12th or early 13th-century letters on the rim of a wine pot found in Staraya Ryazan. V. D. Blavatsky discovered a piece of a vessel from Tmutarakan bearing several obscure letters of ancient writing; the inscription has not been deciphered owing to its fragmentary nature.

It should be borne in mind that in some crafts writing was a *sine qua non* of the process of production.

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[1] A. V. Artsikhovsky and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls*, pp. 44-45.

[2] Б. А. Рыбаков, *Надпись Киевского гончара XI века* (B. A. Rybakov, *Inscription of an 11th-Century Kiev Potter*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XII, 1946, pp. 134-38.

• "...antly filled this pot is."—*Tr.*

This was true above all of iconography and murals. As a rule, icons bore letters and whole phrases. An iconographer or a church painter could have been a semi-literate man but in any case he had to have the rudiments of writing, otherwise he would have been incapable of fulfilling the orders of his customers. In some cases, the painter had to inscribe long texts into the paintings of open pages of books or scrolls (vid. the Bogolyubovo icon of the Virgin Mary dating from the middle 12th century). The style of inscriptions on icons and murals has scarcely been studied; but such a study could yield interesting results. Thus, the icon of Dmitry Selunsky, which stood in the cathedral of the town of Dmitrov, possibly from the date of its inception, had the caption "Dmitrei" side by side with the Greek designation *o agios*, meaning saint. The typical Russian colloquial "Dmitrei" is used with a Greek symbol, and this proves that the artist was a Russian and not a foreigner.

The number of big and small inscriptions on icons and frescoes is so great, their execution is so painstaking, and they reflect the development of the language with its peculiarities to such an extent that no special proof is required to infer that literacy was a common feature among Ancient Rus painters.

The silversmiths and armourers who fashioned expensive objects had likewise to have at least the rudiments of writing. This is indicated by the craftsmen's practice of inscribing their names on some of the articles made in the 11th-13th centuries. The names of craftsmen (Kosta, Bratilo) have been preserved on Novgorod *kratirs*, a copper arch from Vshchizh (Konstantin), and the cross of the Polotsk Princess Yevfrosinia (Bogsha). The latter wrote the names of various sanctuaries and a great incantation against the possible theft of the cross. He also marked the date when the cross was built: "In the year 6000 and 669 (i.e., in 1161) Ofrosinya lays this holy cross in the church

of the Holy Saviour in her monastery."[1] Bogsha is an Ancient Rus name which occurs in the *Novgorod Annals*. Thus, the maker of the precious cross was a Polotsk craftsman.

The art of writing was also rather widespread among the stonemasons. It was discovered that the bricks used in stone buildings were usually marked. Thus, several bricks from a cathedral in Staraya Ryazan bear the impression of the craftsman's name Yakov.

We discover that stone-hewers also knew the art of writing. The stone slabs from the ruins of the 10th-century Church of the Tithes in Kiev bear the earliest remains of Cyrillic writing. One of the earliest inscriptions was made on the well-known Tmutarakan stone. The Sterzhen cross dates from 1133, while the Borisov stone was erected almost simultaneously on the Western Dvina. The fact that these crosses and stones with memorial inscriptions dating from the 11th-13th centuries were common is an indication that writing at that time was in everyday use in Ancient Rus. The so-called "Stepan's stone" found in Kalinin Region argues the established practice of erecting boundary stones.

Let us also recall the inscriptions on miscellaneous vessels, crosses, icons and ornaments dating from the 11th-13th centuries. It is unlikely that the craftsmen who wrote them were illiterate, for there would be clear traces of their inability to reproduce the letters on the objects. It should be presumed, therefore, that the craftsmen included people who were in a measure skilled in the art of writing.

It may be presumed that the inscriptions on the household utensils of the princes or the upper clergy, such as the vessel from Staraya Ryazan, were sometimes made by the royal *tiuns* or other house servants. Does it follow, however, that the art of writing was foreign to those who fashioned less precious articles than the Novgorod *kratirs* or

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[1] *History of Russian Art*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1953, pp. 444-75.

the Polotsk cross? The wooden lasts, the bone arrow, the birch-bark float, and the wooden cup with the inscription *smova*, found in the Novgorod excavations, indicate that it was not only among the feudals that the art of writing was known in Kiev Rus. It was also widespread among the merchants and craftsmen of the 11th-13th centuries. Naturally, literacy among craftsmen should not be over-estimated. It was a necessity among the members of a few professions and was mainly widespread in major towns, but even so recent excavations take us far beyond the current notions that Rus was an illiterate country where only the cloisters and royal and boyar palaces were centres of culture.

It was among merchants that the need for literacy was most pronounced. The *ryad*—an agreement—has been described both in *Russkaya Pravda* and elsewhere in the records. The earliest private written *ryad*, between Teshata and Yakim, dates from the second half of the 13th century, but this does not mean that such documents were not current earlier.

The use by ancient juridical documents of terms connected with the art of writing, proves this point.

Those who wish to prove that private deeds were not current in Ancient Rus usually quote *Russkaya Pravda*, which allegedly makes no mention of written documents. But the extensive version of *Pravda* uses the word *mekh*, a special levy, which went to the scribe. There are other indications in the *Rukopisaniye* of Vsevolod Mstislavich (*Russkaya pis*) that a fee was paid for drawing up written agreements and records.

Literacy was compulsory for one section of the population, namely, the parish clergy, first and foremost the priests, as well as deacons and sextons, who read and sang at services. A priest's son who had not learned to read and write was regarded as a sort of ignoramus, a man who had forfeited the right to his profession. He was on a par with the merchant bad debtor or the *kholop* who had bought

his freedom.[1] Transcribers of books were trained from among the lower clergy and churchmen. Among them we discover the priest Upyr, the deacon Grigory *(Ostromir's Gospel)*[2] and the sexton Ioann *(Izbornik* of 1073) and mere "sinners" (Domka, Mikhail and others).

Books were ordered by princes and boyars, who were often connected with a certain town, as well as monks, superiors and bishops. Bearing in mind that Ancient Rus monasteries were situated mainly in the towns, we shall discover that the group of townsfolk among whom literacy was widespread was big: it included craftsmen, merchants, the clergy, the boyars and the prince's men. Literacy was not universal; naturally, it was more widespread in the towns than in the countryside where the need for writing at that time was extremely limited.

In the 12th-13th centuries, princes often exchanged so-called cross deeds which were written agreements. There is a report for 1144 about a cross deed which the Galich Prince Vladimirko "submitted" *(vozverzhe)* to the Kiev Prince Vsevolod. In 1152, cross deeds accusing the same Vladimirko of treachery were dispatched by Izyaslav Mstislavich. In 1195, Prince Ryurik of Kiev sent cross deeds to Roman Mstislavich "accusing" the latter of treason. In 1196, similar deeds are mentioned in connection with Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo. There are also reports of the cross deeds of Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich. Thus, we find the practice of drawing up written agreements well established among the princes in the 12th century. Forgeries also make their appearance at that early date. We hear of a forged deed sent in Yaroslav Osmomysl's name in 1172 by the Galich voivode and his comrades.[3] This report reveals

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[1] "There are three kinds of *izgoys*: the pope's son who cannot read or write, the *kholop* who buys his freedom and the merchant bad debtor." *(Novgorod Annals,* p. 487.)

[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Ancient Memorials of Russian Writing and Language (10th-14th Centuries),* St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 22.

[3] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 225, 318, 461, 375.

that written documents were a prime need in relations among the princes.

The royal deeds which have come down to us make it clear that they were written after certain standard forms. Two deeds granted by the Novgorod Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich to Yuri Monastery in 1125-37 have similar introductions and conclusions. The deeds of Mstislav Vladimirovich (1130) and Izyaslav Mstislavich (1146-55) are drawn up in a similar manner.[1] These documents were drawn up in the royal chancellory according to existing standards by experienced scribes, who could not have gained their experience overnight. The practices at the royal chancellories were built up gradually, and the Rus treaties with the Greeks prove that these chancellories appeared in Rus not later than the 10th century.

The relatively widespread nature of literacy among the townsfolk is shown by the discovery of the Novgorod birchbark deeds. Birch bark was used in Ancient Rus for writing. It was not merely cheap, it was commonplace, for birch bark was available wherever the birch grew. The treatment of bark before it was used for writing was very primitive. The qualities of birch bark, which is fragile and disintegrates easily, made it fit only as writing material for correspondence of a transient nature. Books and documents were written on parchment and later on paper.

Artsikhovsky's discovery of the birch-bark deeds dispelled the legend about the extremely low level of literacy in Ancient Rus. It transpires that at that time people readily corresponded on miscellaneous questions. Among the 1951 finds we have a letter from Gostyata to Vasily dealing with an unhappy family event; another with a disputed or stolen cow, and a third—with furs.[2]

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[1] *Deeds of Great Novgorod and Pskov*, pp. 139-41. All these deeds begin with the words: "I, prince...," and end with incantations.
[2] A. V. Artsikhovsky and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls*, pp. 36-42.

A more comprehensive and striking picture of correspondence among townsfolk in the 11th-13th centuries is revealed by the deeds found in 1952. One of these letters demands the dispatch of *veretishcha* and *medvedna* (sacks and bearskins), another deals with the dishonesty of a certain nobleman, still others contain commercial instructions and even reports about military action.[1]

The value of these birch-bark deeds lies in the fact that they give an idea of everyday urban life with its personal chores and public interests. At the same time they are unquestionable proof of the widespread nature of literacy in Ancient Rus towns in the 11th-13th centuries.

2. URBAN LIBRARIES AND SACRISTIES

The principal libraries in Kiev Rus were also concentrated in the towns. The *Chronicle of Ancient Years* describes Yaroslav the Wise as a great book-lover of the 11th century. "Yaroslav loved church charters and gathered many scribes, and translated from Greek into the Slav, and he wrote many books," says the chronicler.[2]

Yaroslav's contemporary merely noted his love for literature. But book collections made their appearance in Rus before his time. The chronicler likewise ascribes a similar regard for books to Yaroslav's father, Vladimir Svyatoslavich ("for he loved the written word").

Sreznevsky noted a number of translations which in his opinion were done in Rus and bore traces of Rus linguistic elements. The number of such works has increased considerably as a result of the studies of A. I. Sobolevsky and other students of Ancient Rus literature. Thus, there is no reason to doubt the chronicler's report that many Greek works were translated into the Slav as early as the first half of the 11th century.

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[1] A. V. Artsikhovsky, *Novgorod Birch-Bark Scrolls* (1952 Excavations), Moscow, 1954, p. 65 et al.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 148.

There is likewise no doubt that there was a library at St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, nothing of which has apparently remained. "For great is the benefit of bookish learning: we acquire wisdom through books; they are rivers that fill the universe; for books are of immeasurable profundity; and they are our solace in grief," says an 11th-century chronicle. These words contain a sentiment similar to the one expressed by the great Russian scholar M. V. Lomonosov, who said that the sciences "embellish us in happiness and protect in misfortune."

The Sophia library was no exception in Kiev. The records indicate that another library existed at Kiev Pechera Monastery, which had not only Russian but also Greek books. Greek books brought by the craftsmen who decorated the church were kept in the galleries (*polati*) of its cathedral church. "Their scrolls are in the galleries to this day and their Greek books are also preserved," says a 12th-13th century author.[1]

There were similar libraries in other Rus towns. One of them was collected at an early date at St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod. It was supervised by the Novgorod bishop. The *Psalter* now at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad was written under Bishop Arkady and *tiun* Tupochel (1156-63). One of the parchment books at that library says that the Novgorod Archbishop Kliment inspected the cathedral sacristy (*sosudokhranilnitsa*) in 1276 and entrusted the books to a certain Nazary.[2]

There was also a cathedral library at Polotsk, where persons of royal blood did not consider it below their dignity to transcribe books. The Polotsk Princess Yevfrosinia herself transcribed books and sold them. Other reports tell of the great learning of the Smolensk Bishop Klim and the theological disputes in which 13th-century Smolensk took part.

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 9.

[2] Е. Э. Гранстрем, *Описание русских и славянских пергаментных рукописей Публичной Библиотеки имени М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина* (Y. E. Granstrem, *A Description of the Russian and Slav Parchment MSS. at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library*), Leningrad, 1953, pp. 19, 16.

The chronicle mentions Kirill, one of the Rostov bishops, as an enthusiastic collector of manuscripts and various other treasures: "Kirill was very rich in money and manors and miscellaneous other property (*tovar*) and books."[1] He was possibly the owner of the *Life of Nifont* written in Rostov in 1219. In his records, Kirill makes an invocation about Prince Vasilko and himself. Judging from the text, Kirill was the owner of the manuscript and not its transcriber. The transcribers of the manuscript (Ioann and Olexei) are also mentioned.[2]

Book repositories also served as safes for documents (the *lar* at the Trinity Cathedral in Pskov) and also as sacristies where sacred vessels and money were kept. They were regarded by the citizens as public property on which they had a close watch. The treasures of the Church of the Tithes were entrusted to the priest Anastas and other Khersones priests. Anastas' flight to Poland was specifically noted by the chronicler. The Vladimir chronicler speaks with indignation about the "young" princes of the Rostislavichi family, who hearkened to their boyars who incited them to acquire "much property." On the first day of their rule in Vladimir, the princes secured the keys of the church galleries where the sacristy stood. In the opinion of the Vladimir townsfolk, such behaviour was permissible only in an enemy town. "As if they do not intend to rule among us, they plunder not only the region but also the churches," they exclaimed calling for opposition to such princes.[3]

But it was not only the cathedral churches that had big libraries. The chronicles and other records reveal the existence of book repositories and sacristies in several other monasteries, such as Yuri Monastery, where the monk Kirik lived and wrote his chronicles. Written records of

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 429-30.
[2] I.I. Sreznevsky, *Ancient Memorials of Russian Writing and Language*, p. 93.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 355-56.

monasterial land holdings were very carefully kept at this cloister. A precious collection of land deeds (beginning with the 12th century) copied in 17th-century cursive disappeared after the occupation of Novgorod by the Nazis. Similar documents were kept by other Novgorod cloisters, such as the Khutyn and Antony monasteries. Some of the books from their libraries have come down to us.

Finally, and this is of particular interest, collections of books were also kept in some churches. They were ordered by notables and church aldermen. The so-called *Panteleimon's Gospel*, a manuscript dating from the 12th-13th centuries, has a miniature portrait of saints Panteleimon and Yekaterina, who were the customers' patron saints. It also bears an inscription of good wishes to the customer and his wife (*podruzhia*): "For much has this man done for the welfare of the church; before that he installed an icon to the Holy Mother of God, then a bell ... and wrote a prologue, and now this book:"[1] The books written for the John the Baptist Church were ordered by a rich townsman, for he is simply called *muzh*, the name commonly used by Novgorodites to call each other.

The inscriptions on MSS. show that the books were kept in churches, transcribed for them and were regarded as a part of their treasure. Hence the chroniclers' complaints about the plunder of the churches and their sacristies when besiegers carried off sacred vessels, vestments, icons and books. The remains of sacristies and libraries in towns that were not destroyed by the Tatars (Novgorod, Pskov) stand to this day and bear witness to the high level of Rus culture.

3. URBAN LITERATURE

A study of 11th-13th-century letters inevitably leads to the conclusion that the art of writing was common to various sections of Rus society. Many merchants and crafts-

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[1] Y. E. Granstrem, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

men were literate, and even well-educated for their time. Writing became vitally necessary in social activities, at least in the towns.

The question then arises as to whether or not the townsfolk were indifferent to the trends in Rus literature in the 11th-13th centuries.

The answer would be in the negative if we based it on the studies of the chronicles by A. A. Shakhmatov and M. D. Prisyolkov. The former laid particular emphasis on the compilation of the chronicles by the clergy. His main paper, *Studies of the Earliest Chronicles*, strictly speaking, ascribes the compilation of the chronicles entirely to the episcopal cathedras and the great monasteries. The clergy of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev who, Shakhmatov believes, wrote the earliest chronicle, are followed by the monks of Pechera Monastery in Kiev, where the annals of 1073 and 1093, and later the *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, were written. The latter chronicle was first edited at Vydubitsky Monastery and later once again at Pechera Monastery. In the 11th century, another chronicle made its appearance at St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod.

Other scholars have followed in Shakhmatov's wake with the possible exception of Prisyolkov, who believes that it was mainly the princes who took part in compiling the annals of the 12th-15th centuries. This leaves the other sections of the population out of the picture.

The desire to ascribe the compilation of chronicles exclusively to the clergy or princes obviously distorts the real features of early Rus literature. None the less, that viewpoint is still current among scholars.

It is well known that the 13th-century *Galich-Volyn Chronicle* which makes up the last part of *Ipaty Annals*, has a peculiar arrangement which clashes with our conception of the chronicles. Thus, the dates in the *Ipaty* transcript were inserted into the text and do not tally with the actual chronology of the events. Besides, some copies

of the *Galich-Volyn Chronicle* (Khlebnikov transcript) do not mention the years at all.

The secular nature of the *Galich-Volyn Chronicle* has been repeatedly underscored by scholars, and the authors themselves declared that they were concerned with a continuity of the historical events rather than a year-to-year record. "A chronographer should write about everything that happened, sometimes writing earlier, at other times going back; a wise reader will understand; we have not marked the dates of the years here."[1]

In spite of this remark by the authors themselves, V. T. Pashuto, who recently published a book on the history of Galich-Volyn Rus, believes that the chronicle is a compilation of several other records made mainly at royal or episcopal courts. One of them is a "royal *Kholm Chronicle* of Metropolitan Kirill drawn up possibly before his departure for Nicaea, i.e., about 1246." Another part of the *Galich-Volyn Chronicle* is regarded as the Chronicle of Bishop Ivan, although that bishop is mentioned in our records only three times. However, even Pashuto, after describing the activities of Bishop Ivan, arrives at the sad conclusion that "subsequent versions have so distorted Bishop Ivan's *Kholm Chronicle* that it is scarcely possible to draw any other conclusions concerning its content or chronology."[2] In this manner, an obscure bishop becomes one of the authors of a splendid memorial of Ancient Rus writing, brimming with the secular vitality so typical of the *Galich-Volyn Chronicle*.

Having seen how widespread the art of writing was among Rus merchants and craftsmen in the towns, we should take a different view of the Rus letters at our disposal. Among them we find a composition written by a townsman—*The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik*.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 544.
[2] В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки по истории Галицко-Волынской Руси* (V. T. Pashuto, *Essays on the History of Galich-Volyn Rus*), Moscow, 1950, pp. 91-92 and 101.

It is addressed to Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich and gives a striking picture of the Russian feudal lord. "For the *gusli* are tuned by fingers, while the body is formed by veins; the oak is strong in the numbers of its roots; and so is our town in thy rule. For the prince is the generous father of his numerous servants, and many leave father and mother and follow him."[1] The prince is the ruler of the town, and he rules the townsfolk as the *gusli* player tunes his instrument. The Barsov transcript reads, "so are our *gradniks*" instead of "so is our town." The word *gradnik* meant citizen, townsman. It is traced back to the 11th century, so that there is no reason to presume that it was a later amendment in the Barsov transcript.[2] It is from among these *gradniks* that the "servants" who left father and mother to enter the service of the prince, must have come. They were the veins which held the body together and the roots that fed the oak, i.e., the royal authority.

The Discourse dwells in detail on the servants whom the prince and the boyar had to draw into their service. The Academic transcript, which has been adopted as the basis for the printed edition, says that many "leave" father and mother, while other transcripts use the word "are deprived of." I believe that it was the latter term that was originally used.

It is wrong to interpret the term "servant" as a household menial. From the 12th century onwards, it was used to denote a feudal dependent and mainly a petty vassal. It is the psychology of such men that *The Discourse* describes. The servant is indentured to his lord: "Serving a good lord, he will attain freedom, but serving an evil lord he will earn more hardships." The liberal prince is likened to a river, and a liberal boyar to a sweet water-well; the close-fisted prince is likened to a river with rocky banks

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[1] *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik*, p. 19.
[2] I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. I, col. 576; G. Y. Kochin, *Materials for a Terminological Dictionary of Ancient Russia*. The word *gradnik* does not occur in the records used in the latter work.

and the miserly boyar to a salt water-well. Memorials like the *Life of Alexander Nevsky*, whose author was close to the prince's retinue, and, like Daniil Zatochnik, could not forget the royal kindness, must have been written by the petty servants of the princes.

Some of the reports in the chronicles were written by people of democratic origin. Who else could have written the famous words in the *Novgorod Annals* for 1255 about the boyars who did good to themselves and evil to their "minors"? "And the great held evil council as to how to vanquish the minors and lead the prince at their will."[1]

The people at large did not remain mute witnesses of the major political events. They well remembered the evil *tysyatsky* Putyata whose bailey was plundered in the Kiev uprising of 1113. The Russian *bylinas* preserved his name (in the distorted form of Myshatichka Putyatin) as they did those of Stavr Godinovich who championed the rights of Novgorod, and of the *posadnik* Miroshka.

Naturally it cannot be assumed that in Ancient Rus a secular literature prevailed over ecclesiastical writings. But conditions were such that the former was doomed to extinction in the course of several centuries, a fact as yet inadequately studied by our scholars. It is common knowledge that ecclesiastical writings were preserved by the monasteries, whose sturdy walls helped to save rich manuscript collections, but which offered no incentives for the preservation of secular literature. The libraries at Chudov, Troitse-Sergiyev and other monasteries have preserved great numbers of church books and writings, while secular letters (with the exception of chronicles and chronographs) were kept with less care. It appears that secular writings remained intact only in exceptional cases when they were a part of a collection of chronicles, chronographs or ecclesiastical articles. The manuscript which contained *The Lay of Igor's Host* was a collection which included the

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 81.

chronograph and the calendar, "which gives the chronicles of the Russian princes and the Russian land." The *Precepts of Vladimir Monomakh* have come down to us in the *Lavrenty Annals. The Discourse of the Destruction of the Russian Land* was found side by side with the *Life of Alexander Nevsky,* as can be seen from both extant transcripts.

In other words, secular letters have been preserved mainly with the aid of the chronicles and ecclesiastical writings. But it should be said that secular literature in Kiev Rus was not confined to *The Lay of Igor's Host* or *The Discourse of Daniil Zatochnik*. This is argued by the fact that the Russian chronicles of the 11th-13th centuries contain many memorials of secular writings which were once separate narratives.

It was K. N. Bestuzhev-Ryumin who first noted this fact. Yet at university-level institutions such stories are rarely offered for study as individual compositions but are studied together with the chronicles, a practice which gives a distorted idea of the Russian literary tradition.

There are a number of stories included in the chronicles of the 11th-13th centuries which have nothing to do with the church and cannot be ascribed to official royal historians. For example, Bestuzhev-Ryumin has indicated the existence of a story about Izyaslav Mstislavich which served as a basis for the reports in the *Ipaty* and *Lavrenty Annals* of the period between 1146 and 1152.[1]

Indeed, the events of the period in question are not only described in the *Ipaty Annals* in great detail but also reveal an approach hostile to Yuri Dolgoruky and his allies, the Olegovichi family of Chernigov. But it is not this feature of the story, long since noted by our scholars, that attracts attention, but the question of the environment in

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[1] К. Бестужев-Рюмин, *О составе русских летописей до конца XIV века* (K. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, *Content of the Russian Chronicles up to the End of the 14th Century*), St. Petersburg, 1868, pp. 79-105.

which it originated. The author could not have been a clergyman because the story is almost entirely devoid of ecclesiastical terminology with the exception of the commonplace expression "with God's help," used in connection with Izyaslav's victory. At the same time the report of the plunder of houses and monasteries in Kiev contains no remarks about the inviolability of church property.[1] Prisyolkov believes that "this outstanding description of the time of Izyaslav Mstislavich which is remarkable for its vivid style and *joie de vivre* was made "by someone very close to the prince, possibly one of his men-at-arms." This statement clearly reveals Prisyolkov's tendency to ascribe the compilation of records to the clergy and the feudals. But the story in the *Ipaty Annals* says very little of Izyaslav himself, and is a far cry from the panegyrics to the Vladimir princes which abound in the *Lavrenty Annals*. However, some of its other features lead us to presume that it was written by townsfolk.

The Kievites are the protagonist in the *Ipaty Annals* account of the royal quarrels in the mid-12th century. The "Kievites" negotiated with Prince Igor Olegovich, complaining about the royal bailiffs. "All the Kievites" took the oath to Igor and then treacherously deserted him to side with Izyaslav, his opponent. The story has not the slightest trace of the usual discourse of perjury, and merely quotes the Chernigov bishop on the subject.

The story in the *Ipaty Annals* about the murder of Igor Olegovich is even more interesting. A topic which dealt with the murder of the prince by an enraged crowd gave great scope for an ecclesiastical discourse about martyrs and so forth. In fact, the chronicle quotes Igor's prayer before his death and other remarks of an ecclesiastical nature, but it is hard to prove that they were not insertions.[2]

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 233.

[2] Ibid., pp. 228-32. The story of Igor's deposition is written with a certain sympathy for him, and not for Izyaslav. The insertion begins with the words "And Igor, having heard" and ends with the words "and

The initial story of Igor's murder is entirely devoid of ecclesiastical features. It says that "all the Kievites, young and old" gathered for a *veche* in the court of St. Sophia's Cathedral; it records in great detail the negotiations between the people of Kiev and Izyaslav Mstislavich's envoy. From the speeches at the *veche* we learn of the section of the people who decided to kill Igor. "A certain man" recalls the 1068 uprising of the Kiev craftsmen and merchants. It is the "people" who took part in Igor's murder, while the metropolitan and the *tysyatsky* opposed their decision, saying that they would be unable "to settle amicably" with the Olegovichi family.

The story of Igor's murder contains no proof that it was written by a man-at-arms, and it is "all the Kievites" and not the feudals that are in the foreground. The author does not even consider it necessary to rebuke the Kievites. He ascribes a statement to one of Izyaslav's close associates which puts the blame for Igor's death squarely on Igor himself and his kinsmen: "It is not thou who killed him, it is his brethren who killed him."[1] If there is not sufficient ground to insist that the author of this story was indisputably a townsman, a medieval merchant or a craftsman, neither is there any reason to reject such a possibility. In any case, it is much more probable that the author was a townsman than one of Izyaslav's men-at-arms. The phrase "God and St. Sophia are for our prince"[2] is reminiscent of similar expressions in the *Novgorod Annals*.

Scholars who had focussed their attention mainly on the ecclesiastical nature of the chronicle reports almost entirely ignored the secular stories inserted in the annals in the form of separate narratives. I must add, however,

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they said to him thus." Igor's exclamation "Oh, Brethren, whither am I led" remains at variance with the insertion of Igor's statement that he will be a "martyr" (pp. 247-48). The *Lavrenty Annals*, which carries a digest of the story, has no insertions of an ecclesiastical nature.

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 250.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 302.

that some of them have been called "military stories," which suggests that they were written by members of the feudal military caste, particularly the royal men-at-arms. But this minimizes their significance and cannot be applied to all the secular compositions in the chronicles. Besides, medieval merchants and craftsmen were also conversant with military art, so that the story of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, inserted in the *Novgorod Annals* under 1204, could have been written both by a man-at-arms and by a Novgorod merchant.

The story in question pays particular attention to the struggle for the Byzantine throne and is written in a style that is typical of 13th-century Novgorod. After the death of Emperor Isaac, the story says, "the people rebelled against his son for setting fire to the city and the plunder of the cloisters; and the rabble gathered and dragged together the noblemen and discussed with them whom to proclaim Caesar." It was "all the people" who prevented Murtzuphlus from rejecting the crown, and it was the "people" who gathered at St. Sophia's while Murtzuphlus "complained much about his boyars and all his people." The story is free from typical ecclesiastical terminology and gives a description of the riches at St. Sophia's (40 great chalices, 40 vats of pure gold, etc.). The closing words of the story about the fall of the Greek land "in the discord of the Caesars" are highly indicative.[1]

We have almost direct evidence in the *Ipaty Annals* that the author of its account of the murder of Andrei Bogolyubsky was a merchant. It is a complex narrative. It starts with an ecclesiastical panegyric to Andrei who is depicted as a martyr. The story proper begins with the words: "This happened on Friday," and was written by one who was well acquainted with the events he describes. The only person who took care of the remains of the murdered prince, the story says, was a certain Kuzmishche the Kiev-

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 47-49.

ite. His name tells us that he came from Kiev and his social status is made clear by the reference to the murdered prince showing the riches of the church in Bogolyubovo to the merchants who arrived from Constantinople and elsewhere. Kuzmishche the Kievite was a visiting Kiev merchant, an eye-witness of the tragic events in Bogolyubovo.[1]

The above examples suggest that townsmen contributed to the creation of Rus literature in the 11th-13th centuries. A careful study will substantiate this. Thus, a cursory glance at the story of the Battle of Lipetsy in 1216 creates the impression that it is a military story, but such a conclusion would be a hasty one. The protagonists of its brief and detailed version are the people of Novgorod and Smolensk who prefer to fight on foot rather than on horseback. They dismount, throwing off their greatcoats and boots. In contrast, the "princes themselves and all their warriors follow them on horseback."[2] It is the foot soldiers of the home guard and not the professional men-at-arms that are credited with the victory on Lipetsy field, and there is not a single word about the feats of the men-at-arms. The author of the story is particularly concerned with the fate of the people of Novgorod and Smolensk "who came as merchants" to the lands of the hostile princes.

A closer study of Ancient Rus literature will reveal a substantial number of compositions written by the townsfolk—the urban craftsmen, merchants and secular clergy. Urban letters were an important element of Ancient Rus culture, and our scholars should treat them accordingly.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 397-401.
[2] *PSRL*, Vol. XXV, p. 113.

Part Two

MAJOR TOWNS OF
ANCIENT RUS

Chapter One

THE LANDS OF KIEV AND PEREYASLAVL[1]

The vast and rich Kiev Land, which was the centre of Kiev Rus in the 10th-11th centuries, stretched along the right bank of the Dnieper and its tributaries the Ros and the Teterev, as well as along the lower reaches of the Pripyat. The name "Kiev Rus" was not used in the records which called it "Rus" or Russian Land. The whole of the Russian Land derived its name from this area and not from the mythical Scandinavian Rus.

The annals mention several dozens of populated localities in the Kiev Land, including several towns. The biggest of them, with the exception of Vruchy (Ovruch), stood near Kiev (Vyshgorod, Belgorod, Vasilev, Kanev). Forming

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[1] On the eve of the Mongolian invasion there were hundreds of *gorods* (towns) in Ancient Rus, but it will be easily seen that the term *gorod* is used to denote a large settlement like Pereyaslavl or Chernigov, as well as a small citadel. In the survey of towns which follows I shall deal only with the first type of *gorod*, namely, one consisting of a *detinets* and its *posad*. It is only in such towns that we find a permanent population engaged in trade and the crafts; consequently, it is only there that conditions could arise for the creation of "an urban system," with *veche* traditions and the participation of townsfolk in political affairs.

It is more convenient to survey the towns of each land separately as they developed from the 9th to the 13th centuries, beginning from the centre of Rus—the Land of Kiev. In the maps, the probable sites of towns are marked by a square.

a ring of fortifications around the capital of Ancient Rus, they were clearly not mere citadels, but also budding urban centres, among which Vyshgorod and Belgorod were particularly large. On the whole, nowhere do we find such a wealth of towns in the 11th-13th centuries as in the Land of Kiev.

It is there, too, that we find another curious phenomenon—the existence of towns which flourished for a comparatively brief period and gave way to other towns that sprang up in their vicinity. Among them was Vitichev, which was known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and which declined in the 11th century; and Rodnya, in the mouth of the Ros, later replaced by neighbouring Kanev. Some of the towns of the Kiev Land failed to grow beyond their citadel status, although they are often mentioned in the annals. Such were Yuryev and Torchesk. The former declined to such an extent that its site in the area of Belaya Tserkov has been almost entirely obliterated. The steppe lay just beyond the Ros in the southern marches of the Kiev Land. A network of fortified towns commanded the approaches to Kiev, "the backbone of that line of defence being made up of the towns which stood on the left bank of the Stugna."[1] In fact, Archbishop Bruno, who visited Kiev early in the 11th century, reports that the Kiev Land defended its territory from enemy incursions by a wide circle of *sepes* (ramparts) which stood some two days' march away from Kiev.

The arrangement of the towns in the lower reaches of the Pripyat and its tributaries was somewhat different. The most important of them were Vruchy and Turov, which became the centres of separate principalities. This forest and swampy region was not very suitable for settlement and its urban development lagged markedly behind that of the livelier and more convenient areas.

[1] П. А. Раппопорт, *К вопросу о системе обороны Киевской земли* (P. A. Rappoport, *The Defence System in the Kiev Land*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia Instituta arkheologii*, Issue 3, Kiev, 1954, pp. 21-26.

Veliky Ustyug

Beloozero

Ladoga

Vologda

Yuryev

Veliky Novgorod

Pskov
Staraya Rusa

Kostroma

Novy Torg
(Torzhok)

Ugliche Polye
Yaroslavl
Rostov

Toropets

Pereyaslavl
Suzdal
Nizhny
Novgorod

Velikiye Luki

Usvyat
Tver
Dmitrov
Vladimir
Bogolyubovo

Polotsk
Vitebsk
Moscow
Murom

Drutsk
Kolomna

Logozhsk
Borisov
Rsha
Smolensk
Pereyaslavl

Gorodno

Minsk
Pronsk
Ryazan (Old)

Vshchizh

Bryansk

Bereslye
Pinsk

Turov
Mozyr
Novgorod Seversky
Lyubech
Chernigov
Kursk

Vladimir
Lutsk
Dorogobuzh
Putivl

Belz
Buzhsk
Vyshgorod

Peremyshl
Kiev

Terebovl
Belgorod
Pereyaslavl

Galich
Kanev

Tmutarakan
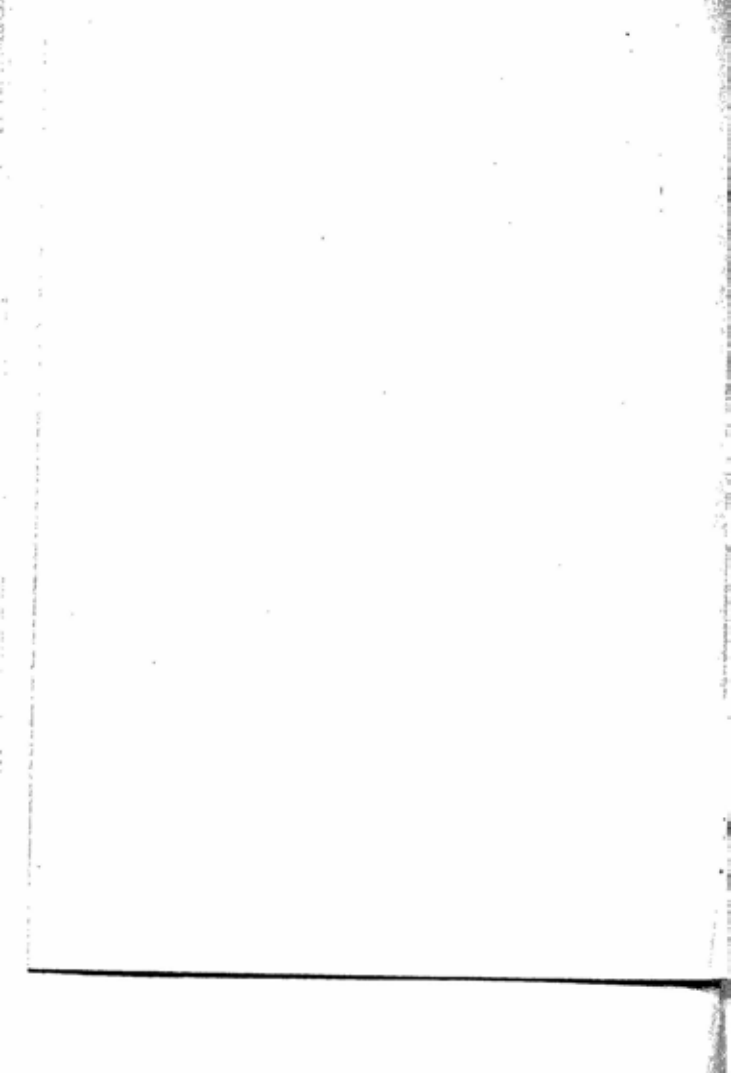
Kiev, the centre of that land, was at the same time the biggest and most beautiful town in Rus and is situated below the confluence of the Dnieper and the Desna, its last major tributary. The mighty Dnieper, with the Berezina, the Pripyat, the Sozh and the Desna, forms a huge basin to which Kiev was the key, commanding the vast territories bordering on the above-mentioned rivers. No wonder the chronicler, in his original and picturesque language, calls Kiev "the mother of Russian cities."

The first settlements on its site are traced back to the earliest times by the finding of coins in various parts of the city dating from the period of the later Roman emperors at the beginning of the Christian era. In any case, Kiev is one of the most ancient, if not the oldest Rus towns. Its name is derived from the Slav word *kiy* or *ky*, meaning a stick, a hammer. It could have been a personal name, in which case Kiev is the town of Kiy, which is how the ancient chronicler explains the origin of the Rus capital. The story of Kiy who founded the town is very plausible.

As early as the 9th-10th centuries, Kiev was a major centre which united Eastern Slav tribes. It remained an important town until its destruction by Batu's hordes. In the opinion of one of the first students of its topography "the earliest town of Kiev started where Andreyevskaya Hill is separated by a small ravine from Mikhail Monastery." The town was situated "on the Andreyevsky part of Starokiyevskaya Hill." A later scholar also believed that "the Andreyevsky section of the town is the most ancient."[1] Recent archaeological studies confirm that view. The remains of an ancient moat were discovered in the neighbourhood of the Church of the Tithes. It "represents the remains of an earlier defence line of the Kiev *goro-*

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[1] М. А. Максимович, *Собрание сочинений* (M. A. Maximovich, *Collected Works*), Vol. II, Kiev, 1877, pp. 97, 401; Н. И. Петров, *Историко-топографические очерки древнего Киева* (N. I. Petrov, *Historical and Topographical Essays on Ancient Kiev*), Kiev, 1897, p. 100.

dishche protected from the west and north by a deep ravine. It is this moat and the rampart which possibly stood beyond it that were Kiev's protection in the 8th-9th centuries."[1] The small size of earliest Kiev merely serves to substantiate Karger's suggestion. The small townlet which gave Kiev its beginning was situated apparently there. The royal part of the town subsequently spread to the hills as being best protected from enemy attack, while the industrial and commercial quarter arose at the foot of the hills.

What is most interesting about Kiev is the fact that its development can be rather clearly traced, for it was witnessed by several generations of its inhabitants. The above-mentioned anonymous author of the seventies of the 11th century gave a brief topographical description of the town as it appeared much earlier, in Princess Olga's time. He reveals that at that time people lived only on Gora, and did not "sit" in Podol. The Kiev citadel, the *gorod*, stood where "Gordyata's and Nikifor's baileys stand today." The royal hunting grounds, the *perevesishche*, were beyond the town limits, while the royal palace stood in the town. Two royal baileys, one of them with a stone keep, stood without the town. It was quite impossible for the writer to have remembered these facts even from childhood, for they date from the mid-10th century, so that he must have carried out some sort of research by questioning old residents, and may have personally inspected the remains of the stone keep which had fallen apart by his time.[2]

The earliest stone building in Kiev was that royal keep and not the Church of the Tithes, as is sometimes erroneously asserted. It was built in Svyatoslav's time, so that Vladimir Svyatoslavich called it his "father's *teremny*

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[1] M. K. Karger, *Concerning 8th-9th-Century Kiev* (*Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. VI, p. 65).

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 35. The keep was already destroyed, judging from the statement that "The stone keep was known to have stood here."

dvor."[1] Its remains were discovered by Soviet archaeologists in the vicinity of the Church of the Tithes.

This "bailey" was the centre of royal Kiev in the 10th century. A pagan shrine was set up by Vladimir Svyatoslavich "on the hill without the bailey." A wooden statue of Perun (with a silver head and golden whiskers) and other idols stood there. Later it was the site of St. Basil's, one of Kiev's first churches.

By the end of the 10th century the old town had become too crowded. The Church of the Tithes, completed in 996, stood beyond the limits of the old town and served as an indication of the growth of Kiev's fortifications. "A new capital of the Ancient Rus state had emerged," says Karger.

The church was one of the most remarkable structures of its day. It served as a cathedral which had a rich sacristy with an abundance of icons, crosses, sacred vessels and books. The chronicles, however, designate it more often as the Church of the Mother of God; the name Tithes was given it when Vladimir Svyatoslavich granted it "a tithe of my property and my towns."[2] The *Statutes* of the Novgorod Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich reveal that the church was also a repository of the weights and measures ("the measures which are in the market-place"). Thus, the establishment of Christianity in Rus immediately led to the imposition of feudal control over trade and the industries.

Very little is known about Kiev in the time of Vladimir Svyatoslavich. That is why the report by Thietmar of Merseburg that it was a large city is so surprising. It appears that radical changes in its development had occurred several decades before the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century so that its territory and population had grown and stone buildings had made their appearance

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* *Teremny dvor*—bailey with a keep.—*Tr.*
[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 51.
[2] Ibid., pp. 83, 85. The feast of the Church of the Tithes was the Assumption (August 15 O.S.).

around the Church of the Tithes. The latter were presuma-
bly palatial buildings.[1] This is supported by the scanty and
obscure accounts of Vladimir's death in 1015 as we find
them in the chronicle.

The prince died in his suburban residence at Berestovo
whence his remains, after the Ancient Rus custom, were
carried on a sleigh to the Church of the Tithes. "And when
the people saw this, they gathered in countless numbers
and bewailed him, the boyars as a defender of their land,
the abject as their protector and benefactor." This is a pic-
ture of a big town with crowds of people gathering to pay
their last respects to the prince.

The role of the people of Kiev becomes manifest in the
quarrels that sprang up among Vladimir's sons after his
death. Svyatopolk, who occupied Kiev, began to curry fa-
vour with the people by a liberal distribution of gifts but
"they did not have him at heart, for their brethren were
with Boris" (the other pretender). The role of the people
in political affairs is underscored in the words of the
men-at-arms, who according to the chronicle addressed
Boris as follows: "This is thy retinue and these thy war-
riors, ascend thy father's throne in Kiev."[2] These warriors
contrasted to the retinue are the selfsame "brethren" of
the Kiev townsfolk whom Svyatopolk failed to win over to
his side. After murdering Boris and seizing the crown,
Svyatopolk gathered the "people" and gave them liberal
presents of clothing and money.[3]

The chronicle reports are partially supplemented by the
testimony of Thietmar of Merseburg. Kiev, a formidable
fortress ("Kiev, a very strong *gorod*"), withstood the on-
slaught of the Pechenegs and the troops of Svyatopolk the

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[1] M. K. Каргер, *Древний Киев* (M. K. Karger, *Ancient Kiev*),
Moscow, 1953, p. 48.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 90-92.

[3] "He began to give clothes to some, and *kunas* to others." (*Ipaty
Annals*, p. 98.) It is not clear whether the *kunas* in this case are furs or
money; I render it with the more general term—"money."

Damned who laid siege to it with the help of a Polish unit. Thietmar lists a number of churches in Kiev, among them the churches of the Saviour and of Pope Clement and St. Sophia's Monastery where Polish King Boleslaus "found much money."[1]

Kiev begins to grow markedly in the mid-11th century onward. In 1034, the place where St. Sophia's later went up, was "a field beyond the city." It was there St. Sophia's and a new *gorod* were founded in 1037: "Yaroslav founded the great *gorod* of Kiev."[2] The southern Golden Gates with the Church of the Annunciation above them became the main city gates. The fortifications, begun in the time of Yaroslav the Wise, included stone structures. Apart from the Golden Gates, the town had three other gates: the Zhidovskiye (Jewish), Lyadskiye (Polish) and Ugorskiye (Hungarian).[3]

By that time, the town was already divided into two sections joined by a bridge: the new and the old town, founded by Yaroslav. The royal court which stood in the old town had reception chambers called the *gridnitsa* and the *seni*. However, in some of the records the word *gridnitsa*, denoting a warm room, was replaced by the word *istobka* (Russian *izba*). In the 12th century, the palace was often called "great." Another traditional name was "Yaroslav's *dvor*."[4]

The part of Kiev which lay on the hills grew most extensively in the time of Yaroslav the Wise. Orchards and vegetable gardens lay just beyond the Golden Gates. The next quarter of the town to be settled was Podol.

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[1] П. Голубовский, *Хроника Дитмара как источник для русской истории* (P. Golubovsky, *Thietmar's Chronicle as a Source for Russian History*), *Kievskiye universitetskiye izvestia*, No. 9, 1878, pp. 27-40.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 106. The architecture of Sophia Cathedral and other Ancient Rus buildings is described in an excellent album *Architecture of the Ukrainian S.S.R.*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1954.

[3] The index to the *Ipaty Annals* (p. 11) erroneously lists the Kuznetskiye (Blacksmith's) Gates. The chronicle makes it clear that they were in Pereyaslavl Yuzhny (see *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 266-67).

[4] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 169, 307 et al.

The political as well as the ecclesiastical administration was centred in its elevated part which was fortified. The spade reveals that the metropolitan's bailey at Sophia Cathedral had a stone wall around it.

The boyar courts stood on aristocratic Gora. Some of them are mentioned in the chronicle by their names after boyars or other distinguished citizens (Borislav, Vorotislav, Gleb, Chudin, Ratsha, etc.). Putyata's bailey, plundered by the Kievites in 1113, has remained in Rus epic lore as an ideal example of the rich boyar estate.

A most curious fact in Kiev's history is the existence of an extensive suburb known as Podol. Many scholars have reiterated Petrov's opinion that Podol was built up with wooden structures only and that even its churches were usually made of wood.[1] But that is a misunderstanding which was due to the fact that Podol churches have not been preserved because that part of the city was poorly defended and was subjected to terrible devastation. The same Petrov says that the chronicles make mention of at least three churches in Podol. One of them (Boris and Gleb) was subsequently called a "heavenly church." One should imagine that the Cathedral of the Assumption in Podol was a magnificent building since it was the repository of the famous icon of the Mother of God Pirogoshchaya mentioned in *The Lay of Igor's Host*. Podol had a motley population. No wonder we discover that it had a Novgorod "chapel" as well as a Roman Catholic Church built somewhere "overlooking the Dnieper" around 1228. It was among Podol's motley population that the Dominican monks, who settled in Kiev, sought fertile soil for Catholic propaganda.

Podol's site was conducive to the development of a number of crafts which depended on the water supply (tanners, potters, etc.). The Kiev landing-stage on the

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[1] N. I. Petrov, *Historical and Topographical Essays on Ancient Kiev*. See also A. Andriyashev, *Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kievskoi zemli*, Kiev, 1897, p. 165.

Dnieper was nearby. Prince Gleb who fled from Kiev from his brother Svyatopolk, "went to the river where a vessel was waiting for him."[1] In it he reached Smolensk. The fact that the Kievites had persevered in the part of shipbuilding is revealed in the story of Izyaslav's warships in the mid-12th century. It was there too that a big bridge was built across the Dnieper in 1115 which was apparently soon destroyed.[2] In the 12th century the north of Podol was protected by a paling (*stolpye*) which ran from the Dnieper to the hills. Beyond that paling lay the swampy common pasture.

Kiev was the centre of miscellaneous industries—forging, armour-making, jewellery, glass-making, etc. New workshops built of "11th-century bricks (halves), clay and slate," have recently been discovered near the Kiev Pechera Monastery. These produced mainly mosaics.[3]

This gives substance to the vivid story in the *Pechera Paterik* about Alimpy the iconographer, who studied mosaics under the Greeks.

Kiev soil is virtually saturated with household utensils, ornaments and the remains of Ancient Rus weapons.

Kiev was one of the richest of medieval cities with a large handicraft and merchant population. According to *The Lay of Igor's Host*, the unsuccessful campaign against the Polovtsy was bewailed by the Czechs and Moravians, the Germans and the Venetians. The *Pechera Paterik* gives us a colourful account of the disputes between the Pechera monks and the Armenians, Syrians, Jews and Latins (Catholics). The legend of Agapit, "the charitable doctor," is a story of an Armenian doctor ("an Armenian by birth and creed, who was skilful in doctoring") and his co-religion-

[1] D. I. Abramovich, *The Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*, p. 8.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 203.
[3] В. А. Богусевич, *Мастерские XI в. по изготовлению стекла смальты в Киеве* (V. A. Bogusevich, *11th-Century Glass and Smalt Work shops in Kiev*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia Instituta arkheologii*, Issue 3, Kiev 1954, pp. 14-20.

GALICH, VOLYN, KIEV· AND PEREYASLAVL TOWNS·

o Probable town site

30 0 30 60 90 120 150 km

Pinsk
Turov
Orogoshch
Snovsk
Glukhov
Kursk
Rylsk
Stolpye
Ugrovsk
Chertoriyesk
Vruchy
Chernigov
Khorobor
Beroz
Putivl
Kholm
Konov
Turiisk
Chera
Vsevoloth
Zarty
Shchekarev
Shepol
Iskorosten
Moroviisk
Bokhmach
Vyr
Ustilog
Vladimir
Usha
Orodok-
Unenezh
Olebla
Vyakhana
Chernrin
on-Ostra
Chervano
Luhsk
Dorogobush
Nosov
Romeo
Popash
Vereshchin
Peresopnitsa
Vyagorod
Olich
Uvetichi
Priluko
Pervoloka
Peremil
Muravitsa
Michsko
Belgod
Kiev
Baruch
Malotin
Bela
Dubno
Milsk
Korchesk
Ulich
Thelan
Lyubachev
Ostrovo
Kamenets
Vzdvizhen
Zvenigorod
Velev
Tripol
Ustye
Pereyaslavl
Piryatin
Yaroslavl
Shumsk
Yaropolcha
Vilichev
Zerub
Lukoml
Lubno
Peremyshl
Kremenets
Ghoinitsa
Kolehiso
Yuryev
Kanev
Pesochan
Doroshin
Buzhsk
Plesnensk
Tikhoml
Polonny
Torchesk
Rodnya
Zhelnya
Zvenigorod
Zbarazh
Volodarev
(Roden)
Voin
Bykoveno
Mezhibozhye
Baguslavl
Mikulino
Terebovl
Karsun
Galich
Tysmyanitsa
Kolomiya
Vasilev
Onut
Ushitsa
Kuchelmin
Oleshye

B L A C K   S E A
CRIMEA
Tmutorokan?

ists and, consequently, of an entire Armenian colony. The Armenian doctor was received in exclusive feudal society and treated Vladimir Monomakh and his boyars. In his reply to a question by Prince Izyaslav concerning the Latins, Feodosy tells of the spread of the Catholic faith: "The Varangians are all over the land; and the Orthodox Christians who live among them suffer great oppression from them."[1]

Kiev's history and its economic, political and cultural role in Rus cannot be exhaustively dealt with in a brief essay. "The mother of Russian cities," as the chronicle calls Kiev, is the best definition of the part it has played in the history of the three fraternal peoples—the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians.

Several major monasteries stood around Kiev. The biggest of them was Pechera Monastery which was founded in the 11th century and very soon became a rich landowner. Vydubitsky Monastery, called "Vsevolod's," since it was the family monastery of Vsevolod Yaroslavich and his children, stood nearby. Their contribution to the letters of the Kiev period is well known and requires no comment. The *Pechera Paterik*, that major literary composition dating from between the 11th and 13th centuries, was written chiefly by the monks of Pechera Monastery. The monks of both cloisters were also engaged in editing the annals.

Other monasteries were scattered around Kiev over a vast territory between Vydubitsky Monastery and Kirill Monastery, north of Podol.

Vyshgorod, which stood just above Kiev on the right bank of the Dnieper, was the most important of its suburbs. Its name is purely Slav and was very much in use, since Vyshgorod meant acropolis, upper citadel, kremlin, *detinets*. The Vyshgorod of Kiev dates from the earliest period and was mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogen-

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 93-95, 132.

itus in the 10th century. It first occurs in the chronicle as a *gorod* of Princess Olga.[1]

It remained a royal *gorod* in later times. Prior to his baptism Vladimir Svyatoslavich had one of his courts there. Later Svyatopolk the Damned appealed to Vyshgorod for aid. The constant participation of the people of Vyshgorod in major political affairs has even caused some scholars to connect all reports about Vyshgorod with the *vyshgorod* (*detinets*) in Kiev proper.[2] But this is an obvious error because the chronicle deals with Vyshgorod as a separate town.

It was well fortified and served as a refuge for Kiev princes. Similar royal citadels were built by the Vladimir and Smolensk princes at Bogolyubovo and Smyadyn. A Smolensk report calls Smyadyn "a second Vyshgorod."

An early 11th-century report in the annals mentions Vyshgorod "boyars." It was to them that Svyatopolk the Damned appealed for support in his efforts to hold the Kiev throne. This prompted Nasonov to make the following far-fetched statement: The Vyshgorod nobility "behaved as the nobility 'of the Russian land' by taking part in all the decisions involving the entire 'Russian land' or Kiev. Together with Svyatopolk, the Vyshgorod boyars attempted to shape the future of the Kiev throne and save the one-man rule in the 'Russian land.'"[3] We discover Svyatopolk's plans unexpectedly modernized to include "one-man rule," a conception dating from the times of the centralized state, which was entirely foreign to the period of feudal dismemberment when even such rulers as Vladimir Svyatoslavich and Yaroslav the Wise divided the Russian land among their sons. The chronicle

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 58.

[2] See В. П. Ляскоронский, *Киевский Вышгород в удельно-вечевое время* (V. P. Lyaskoronsky, *Kiev's Vyshgorod in the Veche and Appanage Period*), *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education*, 1913, April-December.

[3] A. N. Nasonov, *"The Russian Land" and the Shaping of the Territory of Ancient Rus*, p. 54.

itself uses the word *boyartsy, bolyartsy* (a diminutive) to designate the Vyshgorod nobility to whom Nasonov ascribes such great importance, while a 12th-century transcript of the legend of Boris and Gleb calls them simply "Vyshgorod *muzhi.*"

Tenth-century reports about Vyshgorod make it clear that it was not "one of the great centres of the Russia of that day," as Nasonov imagines. I must add that the author is very careless in his terminology and identifies Ancient Rus with Russia. The records describe Vyshgorod as a sizable industrial centre. It is inhabited by *drevodely,* the builders of wooden structures, and *gradniki* or *ogorodniki,* the builders of fortifications. They are described as an integral part of the population. The alderman of the woodworkers, Mironeg, and the alderman of the fortification builders, Zhdan, are mentioned in 11th- and 12th-century legends. They may have been the *boyartsy* who supported Svyatopolk the Damned.

From the 10th to the 12th centuries, Vyshgorod had a role apart, for it was a town with a special régime and with the population indentured to the Kiev prince. Its erstwhile importance is emphasized by its unusually extensive *gorodishche*—about three kilometres in circumference. A sepulchre made of red slate bound with cramp irons was found on its site. It contained a skeleton with a ring on one of its fingers.[1] Vyshgorod was well fortified and was surrounded by crenellated walls. They are picturesquely described in the legend of the discovery of the remains of Boris and Gleb. "And there were great multitudes of people, like bees, all over the town and on the walls and the crenellations."

Vyshgorod was a busy centre. The legends of Boris and Gleb give a picture of the feasts given by the alderman of the fortification builders Zhdan (Christian name Ni-

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[1] В. Б. Антонович, *Археологическая карта Киевской губернии* (V. B. Antonovich, *An Archaeological Map of Kiev Province*), Moscow, 1895, pp. 17-18.

kola), of chambers where the banquets were held and the servants running to and fro oblivious of the hungry beggar on the threshold. Multitudes gathered to see the transfer of the remains of Boris and Gleb. In order to clear the way through the crowds the princes ordered their men to throw precious fabrics, furs and coins "to the people." The same legends describe Vyshgorod not only as a place where feasts and popular gatherings were held but also as a place of long detention of those who had committed offences or had been falsely accused. Forgotten by the princes, the prisoners were kept in irons in the dungeon under the citadel. At night the ladder used for descending into the dungeon was taken out, and the prisoners sat in complete darkness. Such was the feudal prison of the 11th-12th centuries with all its horrors—"darkness, cold and oblivion."[1]

The discovery of the remains of Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod served to enhance the prestige of that town which became a place of popular pilgrimage. This not only made Vyshgorod a religious centre but also attracted men of letters. Some of the records describing the miracles of Boris and Gleb were certainly written in Vyshgorod. Such, for example, is the address to Vyshgorod in an 11th-century memorial in which Boris and Gleb are extolled as the protectors of Rus: "I have placed a guard over thy walls, Vyshgorod, for day and night. It will not sleep or doze but will consolidate and protect its native Russian land from the enemy and internecine war."[2]

Belgorod was also largely a royal citadel. Its name is of Slav origin and was very common among the Slavs; of the several Belgorods the most famous is Belgrade in Serbia. The Rus Belgorod was a favourite citadel of Vladimir, who in 991 "founded the *gorod* of Belgorod and gathered and brought to it many people from other *gorods*

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[1] D. I. Abramovich, op. cit., pp. 52-66 et al.
[2] Ibid., p. 118.

because he loved that *gorod*."[1] This makes it clear that Belgorod was founded in 991 but it occurs in the chronicles in an earlier report revealing that before baptism Vladimir kept 300 concubines there. The report about the concubines in Belgorod is not in itself proof that it existed prior to 991 if we bear in mind that the report was taken from the *Life of Vladimir* which abounds in details of legendary nature.

Belgorod justified its importance as an outpost commanding the approaches to Kiev as early as 997 when it withstood a prolonged siege by the Pechenegs.

The Kiev princes apparently did everything to further the prosperity of Belgorod as their citadel. This may explain the existence of a special Belgorod diocese. In the early 12th century, its importance as the town nearest Kiev was emphasized by Vladimir Monomakh's appointment of his eldest son Mstislav to Belgorod with the obvious intention of eventually handing over the Kiev throne to him.[2] Yuri Dolgoruky, who occupied Kiev in 1149, likewise surrounded Kiev with a ring of towns in which his vassals sat. Belgorod had a *detinets* and an *ostrog*; consequently, in the 12th century the initial royal citadel had grown considerably and was now surrounded by a suburb.

In the late 19th century the manor of Belgorodka together with the outlying fields was surrounded by a high square rampart two versts long, both ends of which abutted on the Irpen River. In its western part there was a *detinets* which consisted of two abutting rectangles enclosed by ramparts. The larger of these had a church,[3] possibly the stone church of the Holy Apostles whose construction is reported in 1197.[4] The two citadels within the rampart may have been the site of two courts—the

[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 83.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 204.
[3] V.B. Antonovich, *An Archaeological Map of Kiev Province*, pp.19-20.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 473.

prince's and the bishop's. Royal cellars (*knyazha medusha*) are mentioned in the first chronicle report about Belgorod. Khvoika's well-known archaeological studies in Belgorod reconstruct a vivid picture of the ancient town.[1]

Belgorod's fortifications were fairly strong for their time.

The annals of the 10th-13th centuries draw a line of distinction between the people of Belgorod and the royal escort. The people, the *gorozhane*, led by their elders are the protagonists in the semi-legendary story of the siege of Belgorod by the Pechenegs in 997. The fate of the town was decided at a *veche* meeting. But the 12th-century record makes it clear that the town was indentured to the Kiev princes. In reply to Yuri Dolgoruky's demand that they open their gates to him, the people asked: "And did Kiev throw them open to you?"[2] Meaning that they would submit to him only when he became prince of Kiev.

Future excavations in Belgorod will doubtlessly reveal the industrial nature of that town and the ties between its handicrafts and those of Kiev.

Vasilev was one of the towns in the defence network built by Vladimir around Kiev.

The chronicler's reports about it are somewhat contradictory. The story of the Pecheneg attack in 996 treats Vasilev as an existing town. The story says that Vladimir could not withstand the Pecheneg onslaught and hid under a bridge. Later, to commemorate his escape, he founded a church in Vasilev and called it the Church of the Transfiguration because the battle against the Pechenegs was fought on the day of the Transfiguration. Earlier, the chronicler had declared that it was only uninformed people who said that Vladimir was baptized in Kiev or Va-

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[1] В.В. Хвойка, *Древние обитатели среднего Приднепровья* (V. V. Khvoika, *The Early Inhabitants of the Middle Dnieper Area*), pp. 76-94.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 288, 300; for details of the battles at Belgorod see also report for 1159, *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 343-44.

silev.[1] Shakhmatov has long since proved that the story of Vladimir's baptism in Khersones was a legend, so that the mention of Vasilev as the place where Vladimir was baptized may have some basis in fact. In any case, the name of the town is most easily derived from the Christian name Vasily (Basil) which Vladimir was given at baptism. It should be recalled that a Kiev prince could initially have become a Christian in secret.

Vasilev stands on the bank of the Stugna and has a *gorodishche* near its cathedral church. To the east of the town lies "Beloknyazheskoye Polye" with 400 barrows, the largest of which is known as Tur's grave.[2]

Many of the towns of the Kiev Land were typical forts which under more favourable conditions could have developed economically. Among them were Trepol, Kanev, Khersones, Boguslavl, Torchesk and Yuryev.

Trepol on the Dnieper is often mentioned in the annals as a rallying point for Russian troops coming out against the Polovtsy. It is first mentioned in 1093 when the Polovtsy invaded the Kiev Land.[3] Its name—Trepol (Three Fields) is of Slav origin and requires no foreign words for explanation. When first mentioned it is described as an outlying citadel commanding the approaches to Kiev, whose ramparts lay just beyond Trepol. After his defeat by the Polovtsy in 1093, Kiev Prince Svyatopolk sought refuge in Trepol, and subsequent reports in the annals continue to treat it as a strongpoint, one of whose gates was called Vodniye Vorota. What is important is the chronicler's statement that it had a permanent population. In 1177, Prince Mstislav fled the town, "betraying the Trepolians, and opening their town" to the enemy.[4] Antonovich says that a *gorodishche* stood near the town on Devichya Hill.[5]

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 85, 77.
[2] V. B. Antonovich, *An Archaeological Map of Kiev Province*, p. 45.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 155.
[4] Ibid., p. 409.
[5] V. B. Antonovich, op. cit., p. 24.

Kanev, or Kanov, is first mentioned in 1149. The origin of its name is obscure. It may be a derivative of either kan or khan and may have been named after the ferry which operated across the Dnieper at that point. In that case, its name would have been Kanov, i.e., a ferry of the khan. The chronicles make it clear that it was an advance post from which Russian princes started their campaigns to the steppe or where they lay in wait for the Polovtsy. It could have been of some commercial importance because Rus merchants, the *grechniks* and *zalozniks*, felt secure only after passing it.[1] As a key point, Kanev replaced Rodnya which is reported to have stood on Knyazhaya Gora where the Ros empties into the Dnieper. It has also been suggested that Kanev first stood on Knyazhaya Gora.[2]

Yuryev and Torchesk, which stood on the southern border of the Kiev Land, were much more independent.

Yuryev was also known under the names of Gurgev or Gurichev. It is first mentioned in 1095 but was founded much earlier. It was situated in the Ros basin in the southern marches of the Kiev Land, and was named after Yaroslav the Wise, whose Christian name was Yuri, and was among the townlets that prince founded on the Ros in 1032. ("Yaroslav began to found towns on the Ros.") It was so important that a diocese was established there, possibly for the purpose of converting the neighbouring nomads.

It was burnt by the Polovtsy and restored in 1103. At that time its fortifications were built of wood (the *gorod* was *srublen*).[3] It is mentioned in 12th-century records only in connection with Polovtsian attacks. The site has been lost but, judging from the chronicler's mention of the Ros and its tributary the Rut where the town stood,[4]

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 267, 361.
[2] Mikhailo Grushevsky, *Istoria Ukraini-Rusi*, Vol. II, Lvov, 1905, pp. 284-86.
[3] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 101 (for 1032) and 185.
[4] V. B. Antonovich, op. cit., p. 52.

it was presumably on the old *gorodishche* near Belaya Tserkov. The Yuryev see was still in existence at the close of the 12th century. In 1197, it was already merged with the Belgorod diocese as seen from the fact that that same year a bishop, who is identified as Bishop of Belgorod and Yuryev, officiated at the consecration of the stone church and was consecrated by the metropolitan.[1]

Much more is known about **Torchesk**, which is first mentioned in 1093 under the name of Torchesky *grad*. It derives its name from the word *Torki*, a nomad people who settled on the fringe of the Kiev Land. Being besieged by the Polovtsy, the Torki "fought strongly from the town and killed many enemies." Hunger made them surrender to the Polovtsy, who burned the *gorod* and led off prisoners to their nomad encampments.

Twelfth-century reports describe it as a centre of the Torki, Berendichi, Pechenegs and other tribes in the Ros basin area. At one time it even became a royal town, and Prince Mikhalko Yuryevich, who sat there, integrated Pereyaslavl with it.[2]

In the late 12th century, Torchesk became the seat of Prince Rostislav Ryurikovich, who enjoyed the support of the "black hoods," the enemies of the Polovtsy. The chronicler calls Torchesk "his" town ("he arrived in his Tortsky with glory and great honour.").[3] Its site should be located somewhere in the Ros River area, possibly in the neighbourhood of Yuryev.

The bigger towns of the Kiev Land stood at some distance away from Kiev, in the Drevlyane Land, which had so long withstood the pressure of the Kiev princes. These "Drevlyane towns" are described in a comprehensive article by Tretyakov, who says: "Dozens of ancient *gorodishches*—Drevlyane *grads*—which have scarcely attracted the attention of archaeologists, tower to this day on

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 473-74.
[2] Ibid., pp. 152-57, 354, 365, 389.
[3] Ibid., pp. 452, 460.

the banks of the Teterev, the Uzh, the Sluch and other rivers of the Drevlyane Land. Among them the author notes the Iskorosten *gorodishche* which is well known to the chroniclers.

In the 10th century. **Iskorosten** was known as the capital of the Drevlyane Land. It stood at a point where the Uzh River cuts a rocky ridge. At this point the high banks are very close to each other and the bed of the river is blocked with boulders. "*Gorodishches* were situated on the promontaries on either side of the river. These were small forts with ramparts and moats." Remains of earthenware dating from between the 8th and 10th centuries were found there.[1]

Iskorosten declined after its destruction, and in the second half of the 10th century **Vruchy (Ovruch)** became the centre of the Drevlyane Land. Its name is of Slav origin, being derived from the verbs *vruchitisya, vrushchatisya*, etc. Vruchy, one of the earliest of Rus towns, is first mentioned in the chronicle for 977.[2] By that time it had a citadel with a bridge across a moat leading to its gates and was the seat of Oleg, Svyatoslav's second son. After this Vruchy disappears from the annals for a long time and reappears only in the late 12th century when it became the capital of Ryurik Rostislavich.

It has been seen that slate was produced in Ovruch and its surroundings.[3] Generally speaking, it owed its development to the fact that it stood in the fertile lands of the Drevlyane, where black soils with high crop yields occur. Present-day Ovruch stands on a rise of ground surrounded by deep ravines. The remains of St. Basil's Church, built at an unknown date, are the only reminders

[1] П. Н. Третьяков, *Древлянские «грады»* (P. N. Tretyakov, *Drevlyane "Grads"*), *Akademiku Borisu Dmitriyevichu Grekovu ko dnyu semidesiatiletia*, pp. 64-68.

[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 53.

[3] Г. О. Оссовский, *Откуда привозился красный шифер* (G. O. Ossovsky, *Where Red Slate Came From*), *Trudy III arkheologicheskogo syezda v Kieve*, Vol. II, Kiev, 1878, pp. 159-64.

of the Kiev period in Ovruch. An old legend ascribes its construction to Vladimir Svyatoslavich, but it was most probably built by Ryurik Rostislavich; at all events, the church itself is an indication that Ovruch was a flourishing town.[1]

In the late 12th century, Vruchy became the capital of a special principality, where Ryurik Rostislavich sat, at least since 1170. His reign in Vruchy was long and he is last mentioned as the prince of Vruchy in 1195.[2] The rise of Vruchy was temporary and was due to the vigorous activities of that restless prince.

A number of towns stood on the Pripyat where, some scholars suggest, there existed a special Turov-Pinsk Land. But its very name is artificial. The only possible explanation is the fact that Turov and Pinsk were somewhat detached from Kiev and Polotsk. Its frontiers are also disputed: Pogodin includes in it Mozyr and Gorodno,[3] but Andriyashev holds that Mozyr belonged to Kiev, etc. The fact is that the Turov-Pinsk Land never did exist as a separate unit with its own royal dynasty and was invented by scholars, for it did not even have a centre of its own.

Turov, one of the most ancient Russian towns, stands near the confluence of the Strumen and the Pripyat, not far from where the Sluch, flowing from the north, empties into the latter. This apparently explains Turov's early rise. The upper reaches of the Sluch are very near those of the Niemen, which made Turov a point on the ancient trade route from Kiev to the shores of the Baltic Sea. The

[1] А. Братчиков, *Материалы для исследования Волынской губернии* (A. Bratchikov, *Materials for the Study of Volyn Province*), Issue I, Zhitomir, 1868, pp. 16-18; Забелин, *Военно-статистическое обозрение Волынской губернии* (Zabelin, *A Military and Statistical Survey of Volyn Province*), Kiev, 1887, p. 353; P. N. Batyushkov, *Volyn*, p. 49, Addenda, pp. 79-81.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 370-72; 442, 452, 456, 465.

[3] M. Pogodin, *Research, Notes and Lectures on Russian History*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1850, p. 211.

importance of this route is underscored by the fact that other Rus towns—Gorodno and Slutsk—also stood on it.

The chronicler traces its name to a certain Tury, who, on the strength of the annals, is regarded as having arrived from overseas, like Rogvolod. But the text of the chronicle reads: "For Rogvolod had come from beyond the sea, and had his principate in Polotsk, and Tury in Turov, and it was after him that the Turovites were called." In other words, the text merely says that Tury ruled Turov as Rogvolod did Polotsk, but says nothing about his arrival from beyond the sea. At all events, the name Tury is explained by the Slav *tur*—an aurochs. Hence, Wild Tur Vsevolod in *The Lay of Igor's Host*; Tur's Chapel in Kiev, Tur's grave, etc.[1] There was also a Turov manor in Chernigov Land which is traced back to 1283.

Turov is first mentioned in 980. By the late 10th century it became the throne town of a separate principality. When Vladimir Svyatoslavich was distributing his lands, Turov fell to the lot of his third son, Svyatopolk, and was therefore regarded as an important principality. According to the *Ipaty Annals*, it was still important in mid-11th century when Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich ruled there until his father's death.[2] The existence of a special Turov see argues the town's importance in the 10th-12th centuries. But the annals have no description of its domestic affairs. Turov is given only incidental mention in connection with other political affairs.

Today, the Turov *gorodishche* consists of two parts: the smaller and earlier part lies in the form of a triangle at the confluence of the Yazda and the Strumen; the other part is adjacent to it and occupies the widening space between the two rivers. The two parts are separated by a moat 4.8 metres deep. This arrangement agrees with our

[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 54. For Turov manor see *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 457, also *Russky istorichesky sbornik*, Book 7, Petrograd, 1882, pp. 342-47.

[2] "Izyaslav then sat in Turov" (*Ipaty Annals*, p. 114).

ideas of towns in Kiev Rus. The smaller and better fortified part of Turov corresponds to the initial *detinets* later augmented by the larger territory of the suburb.[1]

A brief version of the *Life of Kirill of Turov*, a major writer of the 12th century, says that he was "born and reared in the *gorod* of Turov," there took the monastic vows and became famous in all that land and "at the request of the prince and the people of that *gorod*" was installed as bishop of Turov. It styles him another Zlatoust.

Kirill was active in ecclesiastical and political affairs and wrote several messages to Andrei Bogolyubsky exposing the heresy of Bishop Feodorets.

His writings have not yet been studied. Y. Y. Golubinsky and M. N. Speransky believe that his words "could not have been addressed to the Rus people as a whole but were intended only for the senior men-at-arms, court circles and the clergy, and only in the big centres." But this view of Rus as a semi-literate country, most strongly supported by Golubinsky, is disproved by the text of Kirill's compositions, which abound in imagery taken from everyday life. His *Precepts*, as has been seen, make reading compulsory not only for the monks but for the craftsmen as well, i.e., those very people who elected him bishop; he also speaks about the calamities coming "from the people, or the prince." Another of his essays mentions certain "doers labouring with hope," as well as a plough, furrows, etc. A set of precepts ascribed to Kirill censures men who fast but "bear malice and enslave the innocent." His discourse of the departure of the soul deals with merciless lords and the suicides of slaves, etc.[2]

Kirill's writings are closely connected with the civic affairs of the "people" and give an idea of the level of culture in one of Rus's centres.

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[1] *Zapiski addzelu gumanitarnykh navuk*, Book 11, Minsk, 1930, pp. 373-74.

[2] *The MSS. of Count A. S. Uvarov*, Vol. II, pp. 1-2 (*Life*), pp. 70-73 (*Precepts*), p. 21 (*A Discourse of the Anti-Pasch*), pp. 77-78, 113.

We have only the scantiest information on the towns of the Pereyaslavl Land. Most of them (Baruch, Polkosten, Rimov, etc.) are mentioned only in connection with Polovtsian raids or other political events. This is due to the fact that they were predominantly citadels some of whose remains stand to this day.[1]

Strictly speaking, we are aware of the existence of only one big town in that land—**Pereyaslavl,** its capital, known today as Pereyaslav Khmelnitsky.

It is one of the oldest Rus towns. The chronicle says that it was built during the struggle against the Pechenegs, when Yan Usmoshvets vanquished the Pecheneg giant (992), but that is clearly a later legend, since it is mentioned in the chronicle summary of the Rus 907 treaty with the Greeks and in Igor's 945 treaty with the Greeks, an unquestionably authentic document. The story which describes its founding in the late 10th century must refer to its transfer to another place.

V. Lyaskoronsky says that "apart from Russia, populated localities bearing the name of Pereyaslavl are to be found in other places either formerly or still inhabited by the Slavs." He names the Velikaya and Malaya Preslava on the Danube, and Preslava (Prenzlau) near Shchetin (Stettin) in the land of the Western Slavs.[2]

Pereyaslavl flourished briefly in the 11th century and was rated third after Kiev and Chernigov among the Southern Rus towns. That is why Yaroslav the Wise set it aside for his third son Vsevolod. In the 12th century it became the throne town of the Vsevolod and Vladimir Monomakh families, but it had clearly declined compared with the previous century, so that its prince, Vladimir Glebovich, was barely able to beat back the Polovtsy at the close of the century.

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[1] *The Great Chart Book* reveals a great number of *gorodishches* within the Pereyaslavl Principality.

[2] В. Ляскоронский, *История Переяславской земли* (V. Lyaskoronsky, *History of the Pereyaslavl Land*), Kiev, 1897, pp. 156-57.

Its history is obscure, particularly the causes of its rise and fall. Lyaskoronsky suggests that this was due to the fact that it was on outpost and a storage place for incoming trade. But "it was not only its commercial importance that gave it prominence; it was much more valued as a strategic defence outpost." The author also notes its part in spreading the Christian faith in the surrounding steppe.[1]

Thus, according to the author, it was trade, strategic position and church policy that made Pereyaslavl an important Rus town. A closer examination reveals this to be incorrect. First of all, it is not clear what made Pereyaslavl a convenient trading centre. It stood some distance away from the Dnieper, on the Trubezh River, never an important artery. Its position on the outskirts of Ancient Rus rather tended to retard than to further its economic development, since it had to be continually on the alert against Polovtsian attack. Finally, the establishment of a diocese at Pereyaslavl was not the cause but the effect of its economic and political importance.

The only explanation of its prominence in the 10th-11th centuries is the fact that it was the centre of a vast district on the left bank of the Dnieper, which had no other important towns in the Kiev period but was studded with a great number of citadels. Pereyaslavl may have initially stood in the mouth of the Trubezh River, where, according to Maximovich, the town of Ustye was destroyed by the Polovtsy in 1096. It was there that remains of brick structures, typical of Kiev buildings, were discovered. This explains the legend of Pereyaslavl as a town founded in a new place. Pereyaslavl's growth and decline were apparently due to the northward shift of the population.

We are now able to get a fairly comprehensive idea of the topography of Pereyaslavl in its heyday. St. Mikhail's

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[1] V. Lyaskoronsky, *History of the Pereyaslavl Land*, pp. 157-59.

Church, erected on an ancient foundation, indicates the site of the ancient citadel. Maximovich, a scholar of the mid-19th century, wrote that "that part of Pereyaslavl now looks like a piece of wasteland; but it was the site of the *gorod* founded and fortified by Prince Vladimir."[1] Metropolitan Yefrem of Pereyaslavl built it up with stone buildings in the late 11th century. "This Yefrem," says the chronicler, "was a eunuch and of great height; he erected many buildings, completed St. Mikhail's Church, and above the city gates founded the Church of the Holy Martyr Fyodor, and near the gates a Church of St. Andrew, and a stone bathhouse, the like of which was never seen in Rus before. And he founded a stone *gorod* from the Church of the Holy Martyr Fyodor, and adorned the *gorod* of Pereyaslavl with church buildings and others."[2]

The most interesting part of this report is the construction of a stone *gorod* and the stone gate with a church above it. This may be a description of the construction of a special episcopal citadel in Pereyaslavl with a towered wall encompassing the citadel. But this can be cleared up only by careful excavations. It should be added that the existence of a metropolis at Pereyaslavl has not yet been proved, since the list of Rus dioceses has Pereyaslavl down as a common bishopric which, in the first half of the 12th century, included not only the Pereyaslavl Land but the Smolensk Land as well. The existence of an episcopal castle in Pereyaslavl shows that the bishop of Pereyaslavl was a rich man.

Pereyaslavl had a royal court where Vladimir Monomakh founded the stone church of the Mother of God in 1098. This is additional proof that there were two citadels in the town—the royal and the episcopal. Its two gates were called the Episcopal and the Princely. This was

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[1] M. A. Maximovich, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 328.
[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, p. 137.

a rare combination of ecclesiastical and secular rule, each of which had a citadel of its own.[1]

A suburb surrounded the *gorod* and its citadels. It was there, I believe, that the Blacksmith Gates stood, for the annalist says that they were situated at the foot of the hill facing the meadow.[2]

The Ukrainian archaeologists who have studied little-known data have given an interesting picture of ancient Pereyaslavl. The citadel, or *detinets*, stood at the confluence of the Alta and the Trubezh and occupied the relatively small area of 400 square metres. Its ramparts, the spade reveals, were made of a complex combination of timbered structures filled with earth and faced with adobe. It was topped by wooden battlements. Within it stood St. Mikhail's Cathedral which was adorned with frescoes and mosaics. Its floor was laid with slate. The foundations of a secular building were discovered near the cathedral. It may have been the bathhouse building whose purpose the archaeologists I am quoting erroneously declare to have been unknown. Bathhouses were common in Rus and were called *banyas,* and there is nothing strange in Metropolitan Yefrem, a Byzantine, building a bathhouse of stone. The chronicler's remark that its like "was never seen in Rus before" was due to the fact that that particular bathhouse was built of valuable stone while the common practice was to use wood.

The *detinets* was surrounded by a relatively large suburb walled in by ramparts some 3,200 metres long, a great part of which still stand. This surrounding town, the *ostrog*, was simultaneously the town *posad*. Its northern side was protected by a deep moat. The suburb was inhabited by *lyudi*, craftsmen and merchants. The fact

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 146, 179, 214. The annalist says that a metropolis existed in Pereyaslavl. This is mentioned elsewhere too. I wonder whether the "new" founding of Pereyaslavl in the late 10th century was connected with the installation of a Rus metropolis there?

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 317; *Ipaty Annals*, p. 266.

that tanners lived in Pereyaslavl is revealed in the annalist's story of the founding of Pereyaslavl. One of its gates was called Blacksmith's—an indication that members of that profession lived in the vicinity. Various recent finds on the territory of the town show that it had developed industries producing ornaments and household utensils. The remains of dwellings give an idea of the circumstances of the common townsman. "Their walls were erected on a wooden foundation and faced with earth. A clay stove usually stood in a corner."[1]

The stories in the annals depict Pereyaslavl as an important town with a large population.

In 1096, it was besieged by the Polovtsy, "while the people of Pereyaslavl shut themselves up in the *gorod*." These were not men-at-arms, but common townsfolk. Life in Pereyaslavl was precarious due to the constant Polovtsian incursions. "And I sat in Pereyaslavl for three years and three winters with my men-at-arms; and we suffered much from war and hunger," says Vladimir Monomakh about his principate in Pereyaslavl.[2]

Other details about life in ancient Pereyaslavl are given in the annalist's story of the war between Yuri Dolgoruky and Izyaslav Mstislavich in 1149. The latter arrived with his troops at Pereyaslavl and camped on the bank of the Trubezh, while Yuri skirted the town at dawn and camped in the forest on the other bank "beyond the royal hunting ground." After attending early mass at St. Mikhail's Cathedral, Izyaslav left the town, crossed the Trubezh and camped on the meadow at the foot of the hill near the Blacksmith Gates. At the first alarm he moved his troops to the field in which the Krasny Dvor stood. The battle began at sunrise. It was decided by the

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[1] *Переяслав Хмельницкий и его исторические памятники* (*Pereyaslav Khmelnitsky and Its Historic Memorials*), Kiev, 1954, pp. 5-23. (The chapter on Ancient Pereyaslavl was written by A. T. Braichevskaya and F. B. Kopylov.)

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 223, 240.

Pereyaslavlians who defected to Yuri. "In the morning Yuri, glorifying and praising the Lord, entered Pereyaslavl and prayed to St. Mikhail."[1]

The above story reveals interesting topographical details, such as the royal hunting ground, the Krasny (Beautiful) Dvor, and the meadow and field just outside the town.

In this report the people are described as the decisive force in the struggle between the princes. The Pereyaslavl *tysyatsky* took part in the 1113 conference, which drew up the *Statutes* of Vladimir Monomakh that has come down to us in the *Extensive Russkaya Pravda*.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 264-68.

Chapter Two

VOLYN LAND

The vast Volyn Land was an outlying district in the west of Rus. But its frontiers, outlined in Zamyslovsky's atlas, remain obscure if we examine its history separately from that of the neighbouring Galich Land. Volyn proper was a rich and detached territory which had taken shape at an early date. It was named after the ancient town of Volyn said to have stood some 20 kilometres from present-day Vladimir Volynský, which replaced that ancient tribal centre. Ancient Volyn, or Velyn, was among the Slav towns whose beginnings are traced to hoary antiquity. Khoda-kovsky and others have noted that Volyn's site is marked by an extensive rampart surrounding a special townlet called "Slovensky" and many graves within the latter.[1] The Volyn *gorodishche* is described by Antonovich as follows: "A peninsula washed by the Bug, a place called Stargorod," has a *"gorodishche* in the form of an irregular circle; around the *posad* runs a lower rampart; another rampart, 1.5 versts long, runs some three-quarters of a verst from the peninsula. This may have been the ancient town of

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[1] А. М. Андрияшев, *Очерк истории Волынской земли до конца XIV столетия* (A. M. Andriyashev, *An Essay on the History of the Volyn Land up to the End of the 14th Century*), Kiev, 1887, p. 58.

Volyn."[1] Indeed, early reports place Volyn on the bank of the Bug. The troops of Svyatopolk the Damned and of Yaroslav the Wise stood on "either bank of the River Bug."

Volyn, if we are to believe Dlugosz, the Polish scholar, existed as far back as the 11th century. In his report of the siege of Volyn by the Poles he calls it a *castrum*, or *gorod*, and says that its surrender terms included the payment of a ransom. However, his report is disproved by his own statement to the effect that three major towns of the Vladimir Land at the time were "*Wolyn, Wlodimir et Chelm*," while it is known that Kholm was founded in the 13th century.[2]

Vladimir, the capital of the Volyn Land, stands at the confluence of the Smoch and the Lug on the swampy right bank of the latter. It was named after Vladimir Svyatoslavich, its founder, and, consequently, made its appearance in the late 10th or early 11th century, in any case, not later than 1015. Its first prince was Boris Vladimirovich, who was given the principality in his father's lifetime.[3]

The establishment of a new *gorod* near ancient Volyn was probably due to Vladimir's desire to undermine the authority of the local Volyn princes or the elders of the erstwhile tribal centre. The site for a town was usually chosen from strategic considerations. Vladimir's importance was due to its proximity to the Western Bug, but in contrast to Volyn, it stood some 20 kilometres away from the river. A settlement, known as Ustilug (the mouth of the Lug), which had a *gorodishche*, lay at the confluence of the Lug and the Bug. That is where Vladimir's landing-stage on the Western Bug must have been. It should be

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[1] В. Б. Антонович, *Археологическая карта Волынской губернии* (V. B. Antonovich, *An Archaeological Map of Volyn Province*), *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo syezda v Kieve*, 1899, p. 65.

[2] K. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, *Content of the Russian Chronicles up to the End of the 14th Century*, Addenda: "Russian Reports by Dlugosz up to 1368," pp. 128-30.

[3] "Then his father sent him to the Vladimir region, which he gave him." (Abramovich, op. cit., p. 6.)

noted that Vladimir Svyatoslavich chose an almost identical site for Pereyaslavl which, as has been seen, was built at a distance from the Dnieper on the small Trubezh River. A townlet also called Ustye stood where the latter empties into the Dnieper.

I must note that on the strength of a report in the ancient Hungarian chronicle compiled by King Bela's notary, many scholars believe Vladimir to have originated much earlier. This chronicle says that the Hungarians, accompanied by the Russians, left Kiev and "arrived at the town of Lodomer." The prince of Lodomer received them with due honours, gave them two of his sons as hostages and rich gifts.[1] But Lodomer is a Hungarian corruption of Vladimir. The mention of Galich Land takes us to a later period when the region got its name from the town of Galich. Bela's notary, who wrote in the second half of the 13th century[2] when the Hungarian feudals attempted to seize the Galich Land, tried to prove that Vladimir and Galich had long depended on Hungary.

From the first, Vladimir became a throne town of a separate principality, although for various reasons there was no dynasty of Volyn princes similar to that in Chernigov. The Vladimir diocese made its appearance at a rather early date. Among its bishops were Iosaf and Vasily "from the Holy Mount," a monastery in the vicinity of Vladimir, which is mentioned by the *Pechera Paterik* in a story dating from the time of Izyaslav Yaroslavich (1054-76).[3]

Written records describe it as a big town. It was well fortified and had a wooden wall and towers (*vezhi*). During a siege, Prince Mstislav Svyatopolkovich was killed as he stood near a crenel in the battlements. Two of its

[1] See N. M. Karamzin's translation of this excerpt in his *History of the Russian State*, St. Petersburg, first edition, p. 392, Note 302.

[2] C. Horváth, A. Kardos, A. Endrödi, *Histoire de la littérature hongroise*, Budapest, Paris.

[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 494; *Pechera Paterik*, p. 32.

gates, which stood near the Lug, were called the Grid and the Kiev gates.[1] The name of the former was derived from the word *grid*—the royal men-at-arms.

Andriyashev believes that Vladimir Volynsky was uncommonly large for its day. On the strength of an inventory of the church in Zimno manor, five kilometres from the town, he regards that manor, as well as Kogilno manor, seven km. away, as suburbs of the town. He adds that "the oldest church, built by Vladimir Svyatoslavich as tradition has it, now stands a verst away from the town, in Fyodorovtsy village, and the chief church must naturally have been the centre of the town." But these conclusions appear to be premature, since they are based on later testimony. Besides, the author says that the prince's country seat was earlier situated in Zimno, where two ancient churches have been preserved. A triangular *gorodishche* also stands on the bank of the Lug. All this is an indication that a princely or boyar citadel had stood there.[2]

There are so many legends of the erstwhile grandeur of towns that it is quite impossible to substantiate our conceptions of their actual territory. But there are more reliable indications of Vladimir Volynsky's former importance. Stone buildings whose architectural style is traced back to Kiev times have been preserved in and around the town. One of them was the majestic Cathedral of the Assumption built at the time of Prince Izyaslav Mstislavich. In 1160, according to the *Nikon Annals,* "Prince Mstislav Izyaslavich caused paintings to be made in the holy church in Vladimir Volynsky and adorned it with remarkable holy and precious icons and many wonderful and sacred objects and sacred vessels of gold and silver inlaid with jewels and precious stones."[3] The legend calls it the Mstislav

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 178, 334.
[2] A. M. Andriyashev, op. cit., pp. 55-57; V. B. Antonovich, op. cit., p. 63.
[3] *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 229.

Cathedral. It was as wide as that of St. Sophia's in Kiev but was much longer. Six royal and two episcopal sepulchres, as well as the remains of frescoes, etc., were discovered beneath the church.[1]

Remains of foundations of what is known as the "Stara Cathedra" still stand near the village of Fyodorovtsy, one kilometre from the town—all that is left of the Cathedral of the Assumption. The impression which Vladimir Volynsky made on foreigners is revealed in a story about the Hungarian campaign of 1231. When the Hungarian king approached Vladimir, he marvelled and said: "I have not seen such a town even in the German lands." The battlements were manned by warriors whose shields and weapons shone like the sun. The chronicler's account reveals that the voivode Miroslav, who was in command, was entrenched in Vladimir with a great garrison.[2]

Another report dated 1261 informs us that Vladimir's fortifications were imposing. The Tatar commander Burundai demanded that the walls of Vladimir, and, incidentally, of a number of other towns as well, be levelled. Vasilko Romanovich was forced to agree, and "since it was impossible to dismantle the *gorod* due to its size ('greatness') he ordered it fired."[3] This shows that its walls were made of wood and could be taken apart and burned.

Archaeological studies have yielded extensive data on the history of Vladimir. Its *gorod*, the citadel, stood at the confluence of the Smoch and the Lug. Its approaches were protected by swamps from almost three sides. The initial fort was apparently very small, but a big town soon grew up around it. Its dimensions can be judged from ramparts which served as the foundation for the wooden walls and towers described in the chronicle. The ramparts that remain lie in the shape of an irregular semi-

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[1] Prof. Prakhov's report to the Eighth Archaeological Congress in Moscow, in 1890.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 510.
[3] Ibid., p. 562.

circle. But the 11th-13th-century *gorod* had already outgrown them. North of the ramparts, just beyond them, stood the Pyatnitsa and Nikola churches. This suburb was called Zapyatniche (beyond the Pyatnitsa); Zarechye (beyond the river) which lay south of the Lug had a rampart on its southern side.

Foundations of ancient buildings have been discovered in various parts of the town. The foundations of a church with three apses were found in the place called "Stara Cathedra," an indication that it was the site of the earliest cathedra of Vladimir's first bishops. Beliye Berega (*Bili berega*) yielded remains of foundations; the Ilyinshchina area—rough and deeply sunk foundations of an unknown structure, etc. Similar remains of 20 foundations were discovered in various parts of the town.

On two occasions mailed and helmeted skeletons were discovered in Vladimir. In 1923, a man's skeleton in a coat of mail and helmet with a sword and ring by his side were discovered in the area. A similar skeleton was found during the construction of a road leading to Zimno manor. There have been other interesting finds of copper crosses as well as encolpions, silver *grivnas*, small icons, etc.

This shows that Vladimir was a handicraft centre manufacturing metal articles, such as copper crosses, small icons, weapons, and so forth. The development of its building industry is illustrated by the discovery of bricks bearing marks in the form of a trident. Potters had until recently lived in the place called Zapyatniche. The existence in Vladimir of an ancient Jewish colony is proved by the discovery of slabs bearing inscriptions in Hebrew. The grave-stones discovered near Gorodelskaya Street date from the 14th century.[1]

Vladimir was a big trading centre which had ties with Germany, the Balkan Peninsula and the Crimea. The

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[1] *Materiali do arkheologii Volodimirskogo povitu* (*Zapiski Naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka*, Vol. CLIV, Lvov, 1937, pp. 183-214).

story—a relatively late one (1288)—of the death of the Vladimir Prince Vasilko Vladimirovich says that he was bewailed by "the Germans, *Surozhtsi* and the Jews."[1]

The townsfolk played a great part in political affairs. As early as the end of the 11th century, the Vladimir *veche* had forced Prince Davyd to abide by its decisions. It was composed of *lyudi*, the townsfolk. It was with them that the princes Vasilko and Volodar held talks saying that they had not come to fight the people but their enemies Turyak, Lazar and Vasil. "When the townsfolk heard this, they rang the *veche* bell. And at the *veche* the people told Davyd: 'Hand these men over, we shall not fight for them; we can fight for thee, but not for those; if not, we shall open the town and then shift for thyself.' And he was forced to deliver them." Turyak and his men fled the town—Turyak to Kiev, Lazar and Vasil to Turiisk. "And when the people heard that they were in Turiisk they shouted to Davyd: 'Hand over those that are demanded; if not we shall surrender.'" The prince was forced to deliver Lazar and Vasil who were hanged at dawn and shot by the warriors of Vasilko who had earlier been blinded at the instigation of the two.[2]

It appears that the Vladimir folk had their own administration in the late 13th century. This has been suggested by Grushevsky on the strength of the story in the annals for 1288 and the 1324 deed sent by the Vladimir people to Stralsund. The will of Prince Vladimir Vasilkovich was promulgated in the cathedral church, "in the bishopric," where he summoned "the Vladimir boyars of his brother and the Rus and German *mestichi.*" *Mestich* is a later name for townsman in the Ukraine. Consequently, the conference in Vladimir was a prototype of the *zemsky sobor,* or the states assembly, with the participation of the clergy (the bishop), the feudals (boyars), and the towns-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 605. For particulars of Vladimir Volynsky trade see V. T. Pashuto, *Essays on the History of Galich-Volyn Rus,* pp. 166-76.
[2] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 175.

folk (*mestichi*), both Russian and German, who had settled in the town. Vladimir Vasilkovich's treatment of the townsfolk is made clear in the following chronicle story of his funeral: "And the people, old and young, men and women and children, with great wailing paid their last respects to their lord." Particular mention is made of the grief of the "better" people: "We fain would die with thee, lord, who gave such freedom, as thy grandfather Roman who had freed us from all grievances."[1]

These words reveal that special civic privileges had been granted particularly to the "better" men of Vladimir, the notables among the merchants and the craftsmen. They were given "freedom" to act at will. The chroniclers use similar terms to describe the privileges of Great Novgorod. *Obida*, a grievance, a loss, was a word so often used in connection with commercial transactions, litigations, etc., that it requires no explanations.[2] The aforementioned deed of 1324 was written on behalf of the civic magistrates and the people of Vladimir ("*consules et universitas civilatis Ladimiriensis*") to the consuls and citizens of Stralsund.[3] The mention of Prince Roman Mstislavich by the people of Vladimir takes us back at least to the late 12th or early 13th century, when civic privileges were first instituted there.

Vladimir Volynsky was one of the major centres of Rus learning. A remarkable account of the blinding of Vasilko was written by an eye-witness or a man who had it from eye-witnesses during his stay in Vladimir ("When I was staying in Vladimir").[4] Many religious books, including a *Prologue* for 12 months, were kept at the library of Vladimir Vasilkovich in the late 13th century. The *Prologue* is a brief hagiography with sermons for every month in

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 596, 604-05.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 43; also item for 1229: "And he freed the *smerds* from the payment of tribute for five years" (p. 68); see I. I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. II, Issue 2, col. 502-506.
[3] M. Grushevsky, *Istoria Ukraini-Rusi*, Vol. II, pp. 376-77.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 173.

the year and was intended for home reading. We have at our disposal a *Kormchaya Kniga*, or the *Nomokanon* (a collection of ecclesiastical and civil laws and regulations), written in 1286 "by the God-fearing Prince Vladimir, the son of Vasilko" and his Princess Olga Romanovna. That is all that remains of the once prolific letters of Vladimir Volynsky.

Most of the towns of Volyn region stood in the upper reaches of the Styr and the Goryn, the most important among them being Lutsk, Buzhsk, Peresopnitsa, Dorogobuzh and Belz.

Lutsk, or Luchesk, was situated on an elevation at the confluence of the Styr with its small tributary, the Glushets. It was apparently named after the sharp bend (*luka*) which the Styr makes at that point, encompassing the town on three sides. However, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions a tribe called the Luchane in the 10th century. In that case, Lutsk, like Volyn, had been a tribal centre.

Dlugosz insists that the initial citadel in Lutsk was built by Vladimir Svyatoslavich, but it is first mentioned in 1085 in the report of Yaropolk Izyaslavich's flight to Poland. By that time it was already a strongly fortified town in which Yaropolk risked leaving his family with an escort of his men-at-arms. Its ancient *detinets* must have stood on the rise of ground now occupied by the Upper Citadel, or Lyubart's castle. This made Lutsk a strongpoint which was however ill-equipped for a long siege due to the lack of drinking water.[1]

In the 12th century, Lutsk became the throne town of a separate royal house. To judge from its frequent mention in the 12th and 13th centuries and the remains of foundations of ancient churches it must have been quite a big centre in Kiev times. A report dating from the 16th century says that "the remains of Christian lords, Rus grand

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 144, 272-73. In 1149, the besiegers withheld water from the defenders "for almost three weeks."

princes and their sepulchres" were in the Church of St. John the Apostle.

The events described in the chronicle for 1227 clearly reveal the part played by the people of Lutsk in its political development. They opposed Daniil Romanovich ("the Luchane shut themselves in") and later defected to him ("the Luchane went over").[1]

Buzhsk, or Bozhsk, stood almost on the border of the Galich Land, in the upper reaches of the Western Bug from which it derived its name. The annalist calls it Bozhsk. It is first mentioned in 1097 but it does not follow that it sprang up at that time because its name was connected with the tribal name of the Buzhane, later known as the Volynyane.[2] The antiquity of the Volynyane tribe is testified to by Arab sources which ascribe to them the initial unification of the Slavs. I think that the legend that the Buzhane were later known as the Volynyane reflects some hoary event which is of greater import than may be imagined at first sight. Jordanes, a writer of the 6th century, tells of the victory of the Goth King Vinitar over the Ante chieftain Bozh, who was crucified with 70 of his elders. The attention of scholars has long been focussed on this Slav name Bozh which etymologically coincides with the tribal name of the Buzhane (subsequently the Volynyane). Their land is where we should seek the beginnings of the state alliances of the Eastern Slavs. It is noteworthy that Buzhsk was sometimes called Bozk.

However, the history of 11th-13th-century Buzhsk is much less remarkable than its past. It stood on the borders of the Galich and Vladimir principalities and was an apple of discord for the princes on either side.[3] It had its own princes to rule it in the second half of the 12th century, but was, none the less, of secondary importance in Kiev times.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 501.
[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 177, 13.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 487, 313.

Peresopnitsa is first mentioned in 1149. It was apparently named from the *perespa,* an earthen rampart.[1] The town was well fortified and was ruled by junior members of the Kiev families. It was an outpost of the Volyn Land and that is how it is described in the annals. Antonovich thinks that it once stood on the Strubel River on the site of an extensive *gorodishche* surrounded by a great moat and rampart (*perespa*) which was up to 10 metres high on its outer side.[2]

We have many more facts about **Dorogobuzh**, first mentioned in 1084 when it became the seat of Prince Davyd Igorevich.[3] But it arose much earlier and is mentioned in the *Pravda of the Yaroslavichi*, which says that a wergild of 80 *grivnas* was to be paid for the murder of the master of the horse who had charge of the herd ("he who was killed by the people of Dorogobuzh"). This fine was, I believe, levied by Izyaslav Yaroslavich (died in 1078) in connection with the 1068 uprising in Kiev to suppress which he marched with his troops from Poland.[4] Dorogobuzh was a common name in Rus, there being another town by that name in the Smolensk Land.

Its rather great importance in the late 11th century is indicated by the fact that Davyd Igorevich was given this town instead of Vladimir Volynsky. In 1150, its people came out in a religious procession to meet Izyaslav Mstislavich, who was approaching with an auxiliary Hungarian detachment. His words "Ye are the *lyudi* of my grandfather and my father" are an indication that the chronicler uses the word *lyudi* in this case primarily to mean the townsfolk.[5]

Andriyashev says that its *detinets* stood on a hill com-

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[1] "And when they came they camped at the *perespa*" near Novgorod Seversky. (*Ipaty Annals,* pp. 270, 235.)

[2] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 281, 284. *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo syezda v Kieve,* pp. 54, 153.

[3] *Chronicle of Ancient Years,* Part I, p. 135.

[4] See my *Studies of Russkaya Pravda,* p. 46.

[5] *Ipaty Annals,* p. 285.

manding the town. On the north and west it was protected
by a river and a lake with ramparts and moats running
on the other sides. The town itself lay in a hollow to the
east of the *detinets* and occupied the territory up to where
the present-day Podolyane village is situated. Traces of
its ramparts and moats are visible to this day.[1] The name
Podolyane is reminiscent of the word *podol*, which was
commonly given to the industrial section of Rus towns, but
this calls for a more detailed study of its topography.

Cherven, the name given to other Rus towns in the
western outskirts, was one of the earliest towns of the
Volyn Land. The capture of Cherven, earlier seized by the
Poles, is reported in the chronicle for 981.[2] Its name is
of Slav origin—*cherven* meaning a dark red fabric, and
chervets—a purple or scarlet paint. Figuratively used, it
could denote a beautiful town, or a town which stood in
beautiful surroundings. Its ancient site has not been found.
Polish archaeologists have proved that ancient Cherven
occupied the site of a *gorodishche* near the present-day
Chermno, on the Guchva, a tributary of the Western Bug.
It was founded some time in the early 10th century. Exca-
vations show that it was an Ancient Rus town. Nearby
were other Rus townlets and villages bearing typically
Rus names such as Perespa, Maidan Perespa and Va-
kevevo.[3]

The name of the village Vakeyevo coincides with that
of a certain Vakei who had his bailev in Vladimir Volynsky
in the late 11th century. The proximity of Vakeyevo village
to Vladimir suggests that it was one of the earliest
rural settlements.

In the mid-12th century Cherven was a citadel[4] which
played a conspicuous part in Rus clashes with the Poles.

[1] A. Andrivashev, op. cit., p. 76.
[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 58.
[3] Aleksander Gievsztor, *Polskie badania na Grodach Czerwieńskich w latach 1952 i 1953* (*Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko Radzieckiego*, No. 1 (6), Warsaw, 1954, pp. 149-50.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 334, 483.

Belz stood near Cherven. It is first mentioned in 1030: "Yaroslav captured Belz." This is reported in connection with Yaroslav's campaign against Poland and the capture of the Cherven towns. It appears that Belz was already a relatively big town in those days. Later on it is mentioned among the big Volyn towns involved in the royal internecine wars in 1188. A royal seat of one of the junior Volyn princes, it was still important in the early 13th century,[1] although reports about it are fragmentary.

The remains of its fortifications give an idea of ancient Belz in the 11th-13th centuries. It was located on the banks of the Solokiya River which drains into the Western Bug. Two of its arms form an island in the shape of an irregular rectangle with a total area of about 38,000 square metres. It was surrounded on three sides by a rampart, and by a steep slope on the south side. A wooden wall must have run along the ramparts all around the town.

The town was divided by a transverse rampart which apparently separated the *detinets* from the suburb. Excavations on the territory of the *gorodishche* yielded cross-pieces made of white and red slate, glass beads, potsherds, etc., dating from the time of the Volyn Principality. In the 16th century Belz had more Ukrainians than Poles.[2]

I include Pinsk and Berestye among the towns of the Volyn Land, although there is ground for regarding them as separate regions.

Reports on Pinsk are extremely scanty and fragmentary. **Pinsk** is first mentioned in 1097 as a stout *gorod* which had withstood a seven-week siege.[3] It derives its name from the Pina River, for it stands where the Strumen joins the Pina. The site is highly advantageous, for it seems to be the centre on which converge the numerous rivers forming the Pripyat. In the chronicles, Pinsk is usually

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[1] Ibid., pp. 105, 446, 487.
[2] *Zapiski Naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka*, Vol. CLIV, Lvov, 1937, pp. 15-31.
[3] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, p. 171.

mentioned together with Turov and Berestye. The "Pinsk princes"[1] came into the limelight in the second half of the 13th century. They were apparently petty feudals. Written reports about Pinsk are so fragmentary that they give no idea of the town as a whole.

Berestye, later Brest-Litovsk, stood further to the West. The name is of Slav origin being derived from the word *berestye*—birch bark. This town's importance was due to its situation on the Western Bug where the Mukhavets River empties into it, and links it with the Pripyat River system. It is mentioned as early as 1019 in connection with the flight of Svyatopolk the Damned to Poland and is regarded as the last Rus outpost facing the Polish land. Yaroslav Yaropolchich used it as a base against Svyatopolk Izyaslavich in 1101.[2] In the early 13th century, the "people of Berestye" came to the Polish Prince Lestko and asked for a prince from among the children of Roman Mstislavich. In compliance with their request, Prince Lestko Bialy sent the infant Roman "to rule them." In 1229, the people of Berestye once again pursued an independent policy during the internecine wars of the princes and were routed by Vladimir Rostislavich.[3]

Its position on the outskirts made it vulnerable to attack and frequent seizure by neighbouring Poland. Tatishchev reports that a Polish campaign brought devastation to Berestye in 1182.[4]

The history of Berestye has yet to be written.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 543.
[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 98, 182.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 482, 503.
[4] В. Н. Татищев, *История Российская* (V. N. Tatishchev, *Russian History*), Book Three, Moscow, 1774, p. 247.

Chapter Three

GALICH LAND

The small Galich Land was densely populated but could not boast of many big towns, a feature still typical of the present-day Galich area. Modern Lvov emerged after the Mongolian invasion and the biggest town of that land before it was Galich, which made its appearance in the chronicle only in the mid-12th century; the Galich Land took shape much earlier, at least in the 11th century. The absence of big centres in the Galich Land prior to the 12th century is a phenomenon that requires explanation. It was possibly due to the fact that these outlying Rus lands fell away from Poland and Hungary at a late date.

The only towns of any appreciable size were Galich, Peremyshl, Zvenigorod, Terebovl and later Kholm. Very little is known about Terebovl. With the exception of Peremyshl, the other towns are mentioned in the annals very late: Zvenigorod and Terebovl in the late 11th century and Galich only in the first half of the 12th. Zvenigorod and Terebovl declined very soon.

Was this fortuitous or was it connected with the migration of the population? The early rise of Terebovl in the south of the Galich Land seems to indicate the latter. The fall of the first Bulgarian kingdom caused an exodus

of the population from Bulgaria to the northern banks of the Danube, where the Galich princes set up their principality in Berlad. Later, Polovtsian raids drove the Rus population to the north. From the late 12th century onward, the second Bulgarian kingdom became the centre of the Danube area, a process which almost coincides with the death of Yaroslav Osmomysl, who, according to *The Lay of Igor's Host,* extended his domain up to the Danube.

Galich, the chief town of the Galich Land, was one of the biggest Rus centres. It made its appearance somewhat unexpectedly in 1140 when the famous Volodimerko Volodarevich[1] became its prince. However, Dlugosz reports that Volodimerko's father, Volodar, fled to Galich to raise an army after his defeat at the hands of the Polish king in the early 12th century.[2] The town must have therefore sprung up much earlier and possibly long before 1140. A legend was current in the 13th century about Galich being connected with the neighbouring "Galich grave," a high barrow. The name points to a certain Galich, the founder of the town, who, judging by the grave mound, had lived in heathen times. This 13th-century legend cannot, of course, be regarded as conclusive proof but it is indicative none the less. In any case, the name of the town is of Slav origin (*galiti*—to rejoice; *galich*—the screech of daws, etc.).

The growth of Galich was mainly due to the fact that it stood in the centre of the Galich Land. The Dniester was an important trade route and there are salt deposits near Galich. The *Pechera Paterik* says that the war between the Kiev prince Svyatopolk Izyaslavich and Volodar and Vasilko in the late 11th century stopped the arrival of merchants and the supply of salt "from Galich."[3]

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 218-19.
[2] Dlugosz, p. 184.
[3] "And they stopped the merchants from Galich and the boats from Peremyshl, and there was no salt in the whole of the Rus land." (*Pechera Paterik*, p. 207.)

Reports describe Galich as a big town. A separate Galich diocese made its appearance in the second half of the 12th century. It had its headquarters at the Church of the Assumption where the coronations were held. There is no information at all about the other churches but excavations on the site of ancient Galich have revealed foundations of stone churches which indicate that the town had quite a few stone buildings.

The study of ancient Galich was long handicapped by the lack of systematic excavations. Its very site has not yet been located. Some have suggested that it stood on the site of the present-day Galich, according to others it was to the west of it, on the heights overlooking the Lomnitsa River, and still others held that ancient Galich stood on the Krilos, or the so-called old cathedra, 5 kilometres south of present-day Galich. I had assumed that this question was answered by the successful excavations which brought to light ancient buildings around Krilos, several kilometres from present-day Galich. That is just what I said in the first edition of this book, but after visiting the spot I realized that Krilos was the site of the Galich episcopate—the Stara Cathedra—and not the town proper because the annals place it near the Dniester.

A 1229 story in the annals says that Daniil Romanovich's troops stood at Ugolnitsy "on the bank of the Dniester." The Galich and Hungarian warriors shot their arrows standing on the ice; but when the water in the river rose, they burnt the bridge across it. A part of the bridge remained intact and "in the morning Daniil's troops crossed the bridge and camped on the bank of the Dniester." Soon after that the townsfolk attacked the Hungarians, many of whom "fell into the river," which was called the Dniester.[1]

Thus, the chronicler asserts that Galich stood close to the Dniester and its site should be sought on that bank,

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 506-07.

rather than in Krilos, which stood at a distance from the Dniester, on the bank of the Lukva. Unfortunately, there is such a mixture of fact and fiction in the papers dealing with ancient Galich that one does not easily find one's way. I think that the suggestion that it stood on its present site is the most plausible. There was a magnificent cathedral in Stary Krilos, where the episcopate was situated. Another cathedral may have stood in the town proper, and, indeed, the chronicler says that there were several cathedrals in Galich ("before all the cathedrals").[1]

In Vladimir Volynsky (see previous chapter), the *gorod* with the princely keep was likewise detached from the bishop's residence.[2]

Nevertheless, the excavations in Krilos shed new light on ancient Galich which is so obscurely dealt with in the records.

The spade has revealed the foundations of the ancient Church of the Assumption. It was the biggest temple in Galich so far discovered and had a floor area of 32.5 by 37.5 metres. The only other big churches in the Ukraine were St. Sophia's and the Church of the Tithes in Kiev. Like St. Sophia's it had 5 transepts. Its walls were made of hewn stone with a backfilling similar to that used in the churches of Vladimir and Suzdal. The church was built in the time of Yaroslav Osmomysl (died in 1187), and this is proved by its carvings.

The stone foundations of the church yielded a stone sarcophagus containing a human skeleton, presumably that of Yaroslav, and the coffin of a young woman, possibly a princess, judging by the gold-woven wimple and other articles found in the grave.[3]

I think that the residence of the bishop stood on a broad and flat crest which juts northwards and is protected

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 442.
[2] Józef Peleński, *Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej*, Cracow, 1914.
[3] *Zapiski Naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka*, Vol. CLIV, Lvov, 1937.

from north, east and west by steep slopes falling off into the valley of the Lukva and the ravine of the Mozolevy Stream. At this point, the so-called Krilos Hill rises to a height of some 75 metres. The citadel was accessible only from the south, where its approaches were protected by ramparts. The southern part of the townlet was occupied by the Cathedral of the Assumption, which was built of white stone.

It is here that we must seek the court of the Galich bishops, whose rule endured beyond that of the Galich princes and gave its name to the locality (Krilos, the Greek *kliros*—a clerical chapter). The initial citadel was enlarged southwards where a new defence line consisting of three parallel ramparts was built between the Lukva and the Mozolevy Stream. In ancient times the area between these ramparts and the citadel formed the outer citadel, and was called Kachkiv.

The *pidgorodye* lay on the lower bank of the Lukva. The name is very promising from the archaeological point of view since it reminds us of the *predgorodye* of Kiev times when the term was used to designate an unfortified or poorly fortified industrial section of the town, a *posad*, to use the 16th-17th-century term.

Galich prospered for about a century, after which it began to decline. Krilos remained the centre of the bishopric, while the landing-stage at the mouth of the Lukva retained some commercial importance and the name of Galich.

The records reveal that in the 14th century the town became defenceless and a *locus sine muris*.[1]

Excavations around ancient Galich have proved that is was a major industrial centre. A great number of ceramics, bronze ornaments and gold rings have been discovered there. The Yuryevskoye area has yielded shape-

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[1] *Historica Russiae Monumenta* (published by A. I. Turgenev). Vol. I, p. 34, No. XXXVII; the document is erroneously dated 1232. It was given in Avignon, probably by Pope Gregory XI (1370-78).

less pieces of bronze alloys, three moulds for casting bronze crosslets, iron knives, iron slag, a potter's furnace, etc.

The extent of Galich trade is recorded in the chronicles and does not require particular analysis.

The rise of Galich began in the first half of the 12th century. This is witnessed by a report about the death in Galich of Ivan Vasilkovich after which "the volost was taken over by Volodimerko Volodarevich; he sat in both volosts and ruled in Galich." Consequently, Galich grew stronger under Ivan, and Volodimerko had merely inherited it. The latter is subsequently styled by the annalist as the Prince of Galich.

Incidental intelligence gleaned from the annals shows that Galich was one of the biggest Rus towns. Yaroslav Osmomysl, sensing the approach of death, summoned "all the chapters and the monasteries, the abject and the strong and the lowly."[1] It is noteworthy that there were chapters of the secular clergy which united around some cathedral and several Galich monasteries which must have stood in the town proper and in the vicinity.

Excavations by Ukrainian archaeologists have long since proved that there were several stone churches in the Galich area. Some of them were rather large, others were typical parish temples. The town must have been surrounded by monasteries and neighbourhoods sprawling, like Kiev, on a great territory. Its princes may have had a country seat with a stone church as was the case in other towns. This led to the loss of the original site after the town was devastated. At any rate, according to an account of the death of Volodimerko, the royal court with the Church of the Holy Saviour stood in the town, while Yaroslav was buried in the Church of the Mother of God. One of the Galich churches was fortified, and the townsfolk held it for a long time in a battle in 1219. One of the town gates was called Nemetskiye Vorota (German Gates).

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 221, 273, 442.

The chronicles differentiate between the Galich "citizens" and the boyars, and only the most superficial approach will confuse the two groups. No wonder Daniil Romanovich asks the Galich townsfolk: "O, men of the town, how long will ye stand the rule of alien princes."[1]

Galich was also an important literary centre. The famous *Galich-Volyn Chronicle* of the 13th century was compiled there. Some records dating from the 12th-13th centuries bear traces of Galich linguistic features. "Galich the rich" is often mentioned in epic lore, particularly in the *bylina* of Dyuk Stepanovich.

Galich did not at once become the centre of the land that was named after it. As a centre of the Dniester area it was preceded by Zvenigorod and Terebovl. The sonorous name of Zvenigorod* is very common in Rus lands. There was another town by that name in the Galich Land, a Zvenigorod near Kiev, a Zvenigorod near Moscow. Zvenigorod is first mentioned in 1086, but one of the Galich Zvenigorods stood on the site of present-day Dzvinigorod, south-east of Lvov, and the other still further south—on the left bank of the Dniester, between the mouth of the Seret and the Zbruch. Barsov hesitated in connecting either of these with the annalist's story of 1086.[2] I think it is the northern Zvenigorod that was described in the chronicles.

Zvenigorod is situated in a swampy plain near Lvov, with its citadel on a gentle rise of ground among the swamps. This territory has yielded objects dating from the Stone and Bronze ages as well as from the Zvenigorod of the 11th-13th centuries mentioned in the chronicles. Among the more important finds is a seal of the Kiev Metropolitan Konstantin with an inscription in Greek: "Konstantin, Metropolitan of all Rus by the Grace of

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 493, 517-18.
* *Zveni*—sound.—*Tr.*
[2] Н. П. Барсов, *Очерки русской исторической географии* (N. P. Barsov, *Essays on Russian Historical Geography*), Warsaw, 1873, p. 102.

God." Two seals bear the name of St. Vasily. One of them reads: "Lord, have mercy on thy slave Vasily." This seal may be connected with the famous Vasilko who was prince of neighbouring Terebovl in the late 11th and early 12th century. Small copper and stone crosses and icons were found in substantial numbers. These finds prove that a settlement dating from between the 11th and the 13th centuries did exist in the Zvenigorod area.

Ivan Rostislavich ruled Zvenigorod when the people of Galich invited him to their town. After his expulsion from Galich by his uncle Volodimerko, Ivan fled to the Danube and established himself in Berlad. The Kiev Prince Vsevolod Olegovich campaigned against Volodimerko in 1144. He approached Zvenigorod and camped near the town. The hostile camps were separated by the Belka River; Vsevolod crossed this and occupied the hills in the rear of Volodimerko's force, which stood in a *bolonya,* a hollow. Two accounts of this campaign are given in the *Ipaty Annals* for 1144 and 1146.

That these two accounts deal with one and the same campaign is clear from a list of its participants. Unfortunately, the text in the *Ipaty Annals* is corrupted, but it is supplemented by the Moscow Collections dating from the late 15th century and based on a Southern Rus chronicle, which gives the date correctly as 1144. The latter mentions an *ostrog* (a blockhouse), which stood near the town and was burnt down on the first day of the siege. On the third day of the siege, a battle which lasted from dawn till late vespers was fought under the town's walls. The town was set on fire in three places, but the townsfolk extinguished the flames. Incidentally, the people of Zvenigorod had wished to surrender and had called a *veche,* but Volodimerko's voivode cast three of the plotters from the town walls and intimidated the people.[1]

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 295; *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 225-26, 228; *PSRL*, Vol. XXV, p. 36.

Our information about Zvenigorod in the chronicles is supplemented by that of Dlugosz, who says that after the death of Volodar, it passed into the hands of his son Vladimirko. Bitter enmity arose between the latter and his cousin Rostislav, who laid siege to the *castrum Swinigrod* garrisoned by 3,000 men. Rostislav was eventually forced to raise the siege.[1]

Terebovl, which was Vasilko's seat, stood on the Seret. It first appears in the annals in 1097,[2] the name apparently being derived from the verb *terebit, trebit,* to clear forest. But its *-l* ending is an indication that it was most probably named after some person. There are very few reports about it in the annals. Its importance is proved only by the fact that in the late 11th century both Terebovl and Zvenigorod were royal residences.

Peremyshl, a big town, stood on the western outskirts of the Galich Land. In 981, Vladimir Svyatoslavich captured "Peremyshl, Cherven and other *gorods*" from the Poles.[3] Peremyshl was a common name in Rus (for example, the town of Peremyshl near Kaluga). The Czechs and the Poles called it Przemyśl, the name of several Polish and Czech rulers. It is hard to say whether or not this is a pure coincidence but its name is most easily explained as having originated from a personal name. At one time it may have belonged to the Czechs, since according to the Czech deed of Otto II and Pope Benedict VI the frontiers of the Prague diocese extended to the Bug and the Styr.[4]

Peremyshl stands on the right bank of the San where the Vagra empties into it. This must have been a part of the ancient trade route from Regensburg via Prague and Cracow and then on to Rus. This gave Peremyshl its commercial importance and made it an outpost and a

[1] Dlugosz, pp. 186-87.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 167.
[3] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 58.
[4] A. Andriyashev, op. cit., p. 84.

place of storage. In the late 11th century, it was given to Volodar Rostislavich, an indication that it was a relatively flourishing town and the domain of one of the junior princes. Its position on the frontier made itself felt during the numerous wars between the Galich princes and the Hungarian feudals. Dlugosz gives many details of the clashes near Peremyshl between the Russians, on the one hand, and the Hungarians and the Poles on the other. He calls Vasilko and Volodar princes of Peremyshl, thus underscoring the prominent position of this town. His testimony is supported by the *Gustyn Chronicle*, which says that Vladimir Monomakh married his son to a daughter of Prince Volodar of Peremyshl. In 1152, Peremyshl gave refuge to the Galich Prince Volodimerko during his flight from the Hungarians, who plundered the royal court on the San.[1] Later on it is mentioned as a big town of the Galich Land which ranked immediately after Galich and Vladimir.

Dlugosz says that Volodar built the Church of St. Ioann in Peremyshl where he was later buried.[2] After his death, Zvenigorod went to Vladimirko and Peremyshl to Rostislav.

Some scholars suggest that a special chronicle was compiled in Peremyshl which was incorporated in the *Kiev Chronicle* of the 13th century.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 310.
[2] Dlugosz, p. 185.

Chapter Four

CHERNIGOV LAND

This vast land lay along the Desna and its left tributary, the Seim. It had a considerable number of towns, mainly small citadels, the most prominent among them being Novgorod Seversky, Putivl, Bryansk, and Chernigov itself, one of the biggest towns in Kiev Rus. The scarcity of big towns was due to the fact that the Chernigov Land lay far from the main waterways, the Desna being the only river that could be regarded as such. Most of the big towns of the Chernigov Land stood along that river. It is noteworthy that even as late as the 18th and 19th centuries there were no important trading towns on the territory of the former Chernigov Land. It remained an area of petty townlets and localities.

Chernigov was the only really big town in that land. Its beginnings go back to antiquity, and in the 907 Rus treaty with the Greeks it is mentioned among the towns which received tribute from the Greeks. Some scholars doubt the authenticity of that treaty, but the fact that Chernigov took part in levying tribute on Byzantium is proved by the treaty of 945 which mentioned three towns:

Kiev, Chernigov and Pereyaslavl.[1] Constantine Porphyrogenitus knew it under the name of Chernigoga. Its name is of Slav origin, although its etymology is obscure.

Chernigov's early rise and subsequent development were due to its location where the Desna sharply turns southwards to meet the Dnieper. That placed it on the routes along the Desna and the Seim, which embrace a huge territory inhabited by the Severyane. No other town in the Severyane Land had a better geographical position, and students of ancient Kiev are quite right in saying that Chernigov's role in the Severyane Land was similar to that played by Kiev in Rus as a whole.

Its economic importance is proved by its political history. In the 10th century, Chernigov was apparently ruled by one of those "eminent princes" who are mentioned in Rus 911 treaty with the Greeks. It is surprising that it is not mentioned among the towns which Vladimir Svyatoslavich distributed among his sons, although it was an important centre by that time. This may only be due to the fact that the old prince kept it for himself until his death as one of the towns nearest Kiev, or that there was a separate ruling family in Chernigov, vassals of the Kiev princes, like Prince Mal in the Drevlyane Land or Prince Rogvolod in Polotsk. The existence of a "Black Grave" with its sepulture of an unknown 10th-century prince makes the latter presumption more plausible.

In 1024, Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich, a brother of Yaroslav the Wise, came from Tmutarakan to rule Chernigov. The Chernigov Land became the possession of the Kiev prince only after the death of Mstislav (1036). In 1054, when it came into the possession of Svyatoslav Yaroslavich, it became an independent principality once more. From then on it remained in the hands of his descendants. We find that a permanent royal dynasty was established in Chernigov almost as early as in Polotsk,

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 25, 36.

CHERNIGOV AND SEVERSK TOWNS

o Probable town site

25 0 25 50 75 100 km

Voronezh

Mtsensk

Kozelsk

Kursk

Karachev

Sevsk

Rylsk

Vshchizh

Bryansk

Zhelnyi

Vorobin

Ormina

Trubchevsk

Putivl

Starodub

Novgorod
Seversky

Bolkhovesh

Ropsk

Berezy

Chichersk

Gomy

Snovsk

Vsevolozh

Usazezh

Lyubech

Chernigov

Bryagin
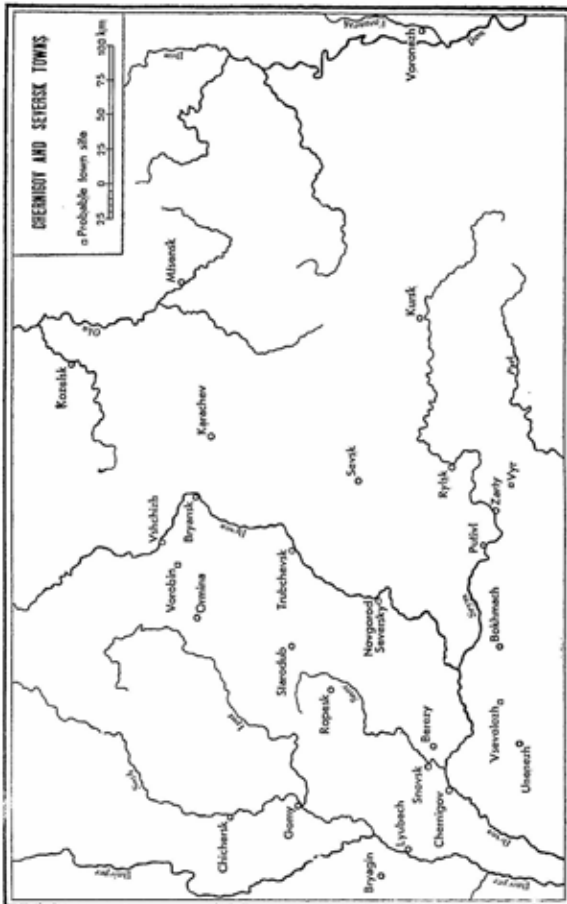
a fact which indicates that the Chernigov Principality became a separate unit within Rus at a very early date.

Chernigov is situated on hills overlooking the Strizhen, not far from where it empties into the Desna. The shortest distance between the town and the Desna is about 320 metres. In former times, the Strizhen was much wider. According to 18th-century reports, it was up to 22 metres wide; at high water its mouth was navigable by small craft.

The *detinets* must have been on a hill on the bank of the Strizhen, since that was the site of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration and the ancient Church of Boris and Gleb. That is where the Chernigov Kremlin is shown in the reconstruction plan of ancient Chernigov given in Pogodin's historical atlas.[1]

In the 12th century, the town consisted of a *detinets*, or an inner keep, and an *okolny gorod*. The Chernigov *detinets* may have been made of stone, but there is no positive proof of this.

The *okolny gorod* was surrounded by a rampart and an *ostrog*, i.e., a timbered fence. The Chernigov suburb occupied a large territory: the rampart runs the length of 3.5 versts. The territory of the ancient *gorod* later shrank and a new rampart was built within the old one. It became smaller still in the late 17th century when another rampart was built with a circumference of not more than 1.5 versts.[2] At the height of its prosperity Chernigov's buildings stood even beyond the great rampart.

In the 18th century, a suburb bearing the ancient name of Podol lay to the south of the town at the foot of a

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[1] М. Погодин, *Древняя русская история* (M. Pogodin, *Ancient Russian History*), Vol. III, Part I, *Historical Atlas*, Moscow, 1871.

[2] P. Smolichev, *Chernigiv ta yogo okolitsi za chasiv velikoknyazivskikh* (*Chernigiv i pivnichne Livoberezhzhya*, 1928, pp. 127-28). In Rybakov's article *Chernigov Antiquities* (*Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 7-93), the Chernigov fortifications are described as four adjacent *gorods*: *1) dneshny grad*, or *detinets; 2) okolny gorod; 3) tretyak; 4) peredgorodye.*

hill. Shafonsky, who wrote in the late 18th century, says that "Podol is so called because it lies at the foot of a hill." But it should be added that the settlement in Podol was not very extensive, for it had no stone buildings. The town expanded in the direction of the Pyatnitsa Church which in the 18th century stood "beyond the old earthen wall where the market-place stands on the slope." It was marked as standing "beyond the wall on market square where cattle were sold."[1] In the early 12th century the wall was not high. According to Vladimir Monomakh, he held Chernigov for "eight days from behind the minor rampart, and did not let them (the enemy) enter the *ostrog*."[2] The industrial part of the town lay to the north of the Kremlin, where the *okolny gorod,* the *predgorodye,* or the *ostrog,* were situated. Pyatnitsa Church dates from the 12th or early 13th century.[3]

The suggestion that Chernigov was a flourishing town before the Mongolian invasion is borne out by the stone structures and their remains which date back to between the 11th and 13th centuries. These majestic buildings are distinguished for their architecture. The Cathedral of the Transfiguration, which was started between 1024 and 1036 and completed in the mid-11th century, is an extensive building worthy of the throne city of the powerful Chernigov princes. Another magnificent memorial of Chernigov architecture is the Church of the Assumption at Yelets Monastery which, like the Pyatnitsa Church in the market-place, is said to have been erected in the 12th century. This warrants the assumption that stone buildings were still going up in Chernigov in the 12th century because it remained a major urban centre.[4]

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[1] А. Шафонский, *Черниговского наместничества топографическое описание* (A. Shafonsky, *A Topography of the Chernigov Vicegerency*), Kiev, 1851 (a description of Chernigov).

[2] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 160.

[3] *Ocherk istorii goroda Chernigova. 907-1907*, Chernigov, 1908.

[4] *Chernigiv i pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (an article by I. Morgilevsky).

Since the first edition of this book, new data have become available on Chernigov's handicraft production. Miscellaneous artifacts have been discovered on its territory, among them weapons and accoutrements (swords, helmets, bows, arrow-heads), various kinds of ornaments (clips, brooches, pendants), household utensils, including wooden buckets, etc. Some of these articles are very skilfully fashioned. Such is the finishing of a pair of bull's horns yielded up by the Black Grave tumulus near the town. Their silver binding is ornamented with figures of fantastic animals, motifs of the so-called teratological ornamentation common in Russian manuscripts of the 12th-14th centuries. Another product of Chernigov's artisans was a cup belonging to Prince Vladimir Davydovich who was killed in the Battle of the Rut.

The glazed tiles discovered in Chernigov give an idea of its pottery. The production of mosaics sometimes used as floor tiles calls for specific mention. Chernigov's architects were also highly skilled judging from such outstanding architectural memorials in Chernigov as the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, Yelets Monastery, etc.[1]

In his summing up of the studies of Chernigov antiquities, Rybakov correctly notes that "the excavations in Chernigov have revealed new aspects of the brilliant Rus culture and art, one of whose centres was Chernigov. They have shed light on the history of the Chernigov Principality and particularly on its earliest period before the appearance of the annals."[2]

The above is rather an underestimation of what archaeology has done for the study of the Chernigov of chronicle days, because the reports in the annals are extremely fragmentary and give no idea of its economy. Archaeol-

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[1] B. A. Rybakov, *Chernigov Antiquities* (*Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11. pp. 7-93).

[2] *Po sledam drevnikh kultur. Drevnyaya Rus*, p. 98.

ogical studies remain paramount for the period before and after the emergence of the annals.

The structure of Chernigov's community is obscure. The craftsmen and merchants are mentioned only once in the item for 1139.[1] It should be said that the situation in Chernigov was not conducive to a frequent change of princes. This was due to the power of the princes who held somewhat aloof from the neighbouring princes. No wonder *The Lay of Igor's Host* calls the descendants of Oleg Svyatoslavich in Chernigov, Oleg's brave brood.

A curious character sketch of the Chernigov Prince Davyd Svyatoslavich, the "senior" among his kinsmen, who died in 1123, is given in a 12th-century parable. "He lived 70 years and 3," the author says, "in great Chernigov, in his principate, and he was the eldest prince among his brethren. When he was wronged by one of his brothers he took everything upon himself.... Seeing his mildness, his brothers obeyed him as a father and submitted to him as to a lord." This is an idealized portrait of a ruling prince, but it indicates that the Chernigov princes were indeed a single family. However, there was constant enmity between them and violation of the oath of allegiance, and the Chernigov parable stresses that Prince Davyd was one who was always true to his word: "If others went back on their oaths, he was always true to his."[2]

Chernigov was a major cultural centre. Remains of its remarkable buildings stand to this day. The greatest literary work of Ancient Rus—*The Lay of Igor's Host*—is connected with Chernigov. Daniil the Pilgrim, who went to Palestine shortly after the first crusade, came from Chernigov. Epic lore describes Chernigov as an ancient and rich town.

Chernigov was unrivalled in its land, and only a few

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 216.
[2] D. I. Abramovich, op. cit., pp. 129-30.

of its other towns can be mentioned as industrial and commercial centres.

One of them was **Lyubech** on the Dnieper. In the 10th century it was one of the towns trading with Kiev. The chronicle first mentions it in 882. A summary of Oleg's treaty with the Greeks in the annals for 907 names it among the Rus towns which were paid tribute by Byzantium.

This feature of the chronicler's version of the 907 treaty warns us against the popular view that it was fictitious. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus Lyubech was among the Rus towns trading with Byzantium.

Its name does not require interpretation, it is unquestionably of Slav origin, and is derived from the word *lyuby—love, lyubyi,* meaning favourite. It was an outpost on the route to Kiev from the north. The rival armies of Svyatopolk the Damned and Yaroslav the Wise met at Lyubech in 1015. A royal congress which confirmed Yaroslav's descendants in their possessions was held there in 1097.[1] The level of its culture is revealed in a report which tells of Antony, the founder of the Pechera Monastery in Kiev, "who came from the town of Lyubech."[2] Antony visited Mount Athos where he took the monastic vows. He was one of the most learned men in Rus, and this gives us an idea of Lyubech's cultural development at the time.

Lyubech is mentioned several times in 12th-century records, but its zenith had apparently passed. In 1159, it is described as a deserted town. In the late 18th century, it still had "a crumbling earth fortification near which stood a small 20-*sazhen* high unfortified citadel, separated from the wall by moats."[3]

Two significant towns, Putivl and Kursk, stood on the Seim, Desna's main tributary.

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part I, pp. 20, 24, 96, 170.
[2] Ibid., p. 105.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 343; A. Shafonsky, op. cit., p. 315.

Putivl was in the lower reaches of the Seim. The *gorod* in Putivl was a "rocky hill in its centre between the Seim and the Putivlka rivers, which was fortified by a high wall levelled after the explosion of a powder magazine in the early 19th century."[1] The town could have been named after the Putivlka River or from some personal name like Putyata or Putsha (cf. Mstislavl, Izyaslavl, Yaroslavl, etc.). It is first mentioned in 1146 as a town that had existed for some time. At all events, it was a town that had already offered stiff resistance to a great army. Its people fought staunchly on its fortifications. It was ruled by a *posadnik* of the Chernigov Prince Svyatoslav. The chronicle makes special mention of Svyatoslav's rich court near Putivl whose cellars contained 500 vats of honey and 80 barrels of wine. A report in the annals for 1146 describes Putivl as a big town. In the second half of the 12th century, it became the throne town of the Chernigov royal house. Its people, led by their prince, took part in the Battle of Kalka.[2] Putivl is mentioned in *The Lay of Igor's Host,* for it was on its battlements that Yaroslavna bewailed her husband and the Rus warriors.

Kursk stood in the upper reaches of the Seim, on the banks of the Tuskor and the Kur where the former empties into the Seim. It got its name from the Kur River (Kuresk—Kursk, cf. Vidbesk, Drutesk, etc.). It should be noted that there was another Kursk in the ancient Novgorod Land. Kursk is first mentioned in 1095, as a town which had its own prince. In the struggle between Vladimir Monomakh and the Olegovichi family, Kursk appears as an independent town.[3] But it arose much earlier than we are led to believe by the annals. Some details about it are given in the *Life of Feodosy of Pechera,* whose parents initially lived in Vasilev near Kiev and were later

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[1] V. P. Semyonov, *Russia,* Vol. II, *The Central Black Soil Region,* p. 616.

[2] *Ipaty Annals,* pp. 236-37, 496.

[3] *Lavrenty Annals,* pp. 221, 282.

sent to Kursk by the prince. This happened when Feodosy was a child, at the beginning of the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. At that time the town was ruled by a *posadnik* whom the *Life of Feodosy* styles now "potentate" and now "judge," in the florid style of the time.[1]

But it must be added that Kursk was not regarded as a particularly enviable domain. When Andrei Vladimirovich was being expelled from Pereyaslavl and offered Kursk instead, he said: "I prefer to die in the land of my father and my grandfather rather than go to the Kursk principate."[2] Kursk was an important frontier outpost and was connected with the area around the Seim.[3] This is made clear by *The Lay of Igor's Host* which says that Kursk warriors were famous. There is no reason to exaggerate its importance as an urban centre, but Kursk region is rich in coin caches which indicate that the area was formerly connected with distant lands. A cache of 283 Roman coins dating from the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., beginning from the reign of Octavianus Augustus, was discovered in Troitsa manor on the Rat River. Among them were also coins minted in Nishapur, Samarkand, etc.[4]

A number of towns stood on the Desna above Chernigov. Among them were Novgorod Seversky, Trubchevsk, Bryansk and Vshchizh.

Novgorod Seversky is first mentioned in 1146, as an important Chernigov town.[5] Its beginnings are obscure. Local lore has it that it existed in high antiquity and that the Church of the Assumption was erected "by the first princes on the place where the Severyane idol stood." But this flight of fancy is scarcely of help to the scholar, since

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[1] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 143-46, 16-18.
[2] *Laventy Annals*, p. 291.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 268.
[4] Т. А. Горохов, *Монетные клады Курской губернии* (T. A. Gorokhov, *Coin Caches in Kursk Province*), *Izvestia Kurskogo gubernskogo obshchestva krayevedenia*, No. 4, 1927, July-August, p. 39.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 234.

it is not borne out by documents. One thing is clear: Novgorod Seversky got its second name from the land of the Severyane. It is not known either where Semyonov got his information about the town having been devastated by the Polovtsy in 1080.[1]

Novgorod Seversky became important only in the second half of the 12th century when other towns (Putivl, Kursk) also rose on the eastern outskirts of the Chernigov Land. In 1152, it consisted of two sections—the inner citadel (*grad*) and the *ostrog*. "In the month of February," says an account of the siege of Putivl, "they approached the town with their regiments and began to fight near the gates of the *ostrog*, and they hurled them back into the *grad* and captured the *ostrog*; and retreating from the *grad* they left the *ostrog* and went to their transports."[2] It appears then that the loss of the gates and the *ostrog* did not lead to the fall of Novgorod which had a *detinets*, or *grad*, within it.

Its rising importance is witnessed by the fact that it was the seat of the heirs to the Chernigov throne. But I think it is wrong to single out a separate Novgorod Seversky Principality as is commonly done by our cartographers,[3] for there is not enough ground to do so. The chronicles make no mention of a separate Novgorod Seversky Land although they do mention the Seim area ("there was grief and great sorrow as never before in the whole of the Seim area and in Novgorod Seversky and the whole of the Chernigov volost").[4] The report includes the Seim area and Novgorod Seversky in the Chernigov volost.

[1] V. P. Semyonov, *Russia*, Vol. VII, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 440.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 317.
[3] E. Замысловский, *Учебный атлас по русской истории* (Y. Zamyslovsky, *A School Atlas on Russian History*), St. Petersburg, 1869, map No. 2. Later atlases and maps, including the works of cartographer I. A. Golubtsov, likewise single out a separate Novgorod Seversky Principality.
[4] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 435.

Novgorod Seversky was made famous by *The Lay of Igor's Host*.

Bryansk, or **Debryansk**, was situated in the upper reaches of the Desna. It got its name from the forest ravines—*debri*—among which it stood. It first occurs in the annals in 1146 under its old name of Debryansk. Its infrequent mention in the annals before the Mongolian invasion seems to indicate that it was not very important. It developed later when under the impact of the Tatar pogroms the population fled to the dense forests in the upper reaches of the Desna and the Oka.[1]

In the 12th century, neighbouring **Vshchizh** on the Desna was much more important. It is first mentioned in the annals for 1142. In 1156, "Volodimirich, nephew to Izyaslav, fled from Berezy to Vshchizh, and seized all his towns in the Desna area." In this report, Vshchizh is made out to be the chief town in the upper reaches of the Desna. It was well fortified and in 1160 withstood a five-week siege.[2] In the mid-12th century it was ruled for quite some time by Prince Svyatoslav Vladimirovich, who died in 1167.

New light was shed on the Vshchizh *gorodishche* by recent excavations on its site.

According to Rybakov, the "Vshchizh promontory" where the town subsequently stood, was settled in the 9th-10th centuries. Later, in the 11th-12th centuries, "Vshchizh was a small fortress on the promontory and occupied an area roughly half that of the later *detinets*." But even at that time people lived beyond the moat and the wall, an indication that it had a *posad* or at least a small settlement beyond its walls. It grew perceptibly in the mid-12th century when it became the capital of a principality. The territory of the *detinets* was enlarged and the *posad*

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 239; Р. В. Зотов, *О черниговских князьях по Любецкому синодику и о черниговском княжестве в татарское время* (R. V. Zotov, *Concerning the Chernigov Princes in the Lyubech Synodik and the Chernigov Principality in the Tatar Period*), St. Petersburg, 1892.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 333, 349.

walled in. A new wall was built around the *detinets*. It was made up of large timbered structures three by five metres and reinforced by a wooden tower. It was then that a stone church emerged in the *posad*.

Miscellaneous articles found in Vshchizh include household utensils and tools (axes, picks, chisels, gouges and frying-pans, etc.) and ornaments (beads, glass bracelets, etc.). Potters' articles are particularly numerous. Rybakov says that there were from 15 to 20 potters working in the town at one time.[1]

Valuable art objects were discovered on the territory. Among them are the well-known bronze arches made by Konstantin. In 1945, a bronze Russian-made dipper dating from the 12th or 13th century was found on the site. It is fashioned in the shape of a fantastic bird with a human head. Household utensils which belonged to the prince and his men-at-arms show that Rus traded with distant lands. A candle-stick found in Vshchizh is adorned with beautifully done Limoges enamels dating from the 12th-13th centuries. In my opinion, a colourful and inspiring picture of ancient Vshchizh is given by Rybakov in his *On the Trails of Ancient Cultures*.[2]

The brief spell of prosperity in Vshchizh is an indication, first and foremost, of the fact that the land of the Vyatichi became more populated and that big feudal centres made their appearance in that land.

At the same time, the rapid decline of Vshchizh after its devastation, possibly in 1237, and the simultaneous rise of neighbouring Bryansk, or Debryansk, show that there was no place for two major towns in that part of the Chernigov Land. Vshchizh fell into decay and was

[1] Б. А. Рыбаков, *Раскопки во Вщиже в 1948—1949 гг.* (В. А. Rybakov, *Excavations in Vshchizh in 1948-49*), (*Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1951, pp. 34-41; see also his: *Вщиж—удельный город XII века* (*Vshchizh—an Appanage Town of the 12th Century*) ibid., Vol. XLI, p. 56.

[2] *Po sledam drevnikh kultur. Drevnyaya Rus*, pp. 98-120.

replaced by Bryansk, which grew perceptibly in the 13th century.

Another Chernigov town, **Trubchevsk**, is first mentioned in 1185 in connection with the campaign undertaken by the Chernigov and Seversk princes against the Polovtsy.[1] Its late appearance in the annals may have been due to the fact that it stood initially "on an inaccessible platform on the high right bank of the Desna"[2] some 10 kilometres from the town where the Kvetunskoye *gorodishche* has been preserved. The latter was a busy place in its early period. Its Slav settlement existed until the 13th century, i.e., the time of its mention in the annals.

Excavations on the Sobornaya Hill on the bank of the Desna have yielded new facts about Trubchevsk. From the south-west the settlement on the hill was surrounded by a "deep and wide ravine, which in earlier times must have been connected with another ravine running to meet it from the river, girdling the present-day city park."

Judging by the ceramics, the dwellings unearthed on the hill date from the 9th-10th centuries. Some objects date from the 11th-13th centuries, among them plinths, glass beads, bracelets and a temple band. The ceramic articles bear traces of various marks, including the so-called coat of arms of the Ryurikovichi family. As in other riverine settlements, plummets were also discovered there.

The information on other towns of the Chernigov Land is so fragmentary and incidental that it defies summing up. These were for the most part small citadels which failed to develop into big populated localities. It is only the traditional practice of enumerating the Chernigov towns and making general statements about their numbers

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 430.
[2] В.А. Падин, *Поселения домонгольского времени в районе Трубчевска* (V. A. Padin, *Settlements in the Trubchevsk Area in the Pre-Mongolian Period*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia II MK*, Vol. XXIII, 1948, pp. 86-92.

and economic importance that has allowed D. Bagalei and other scholars to assert that there was a great number of towns in the Chernigov Land. They were indeed numerous but were mainly insignificant localities and in this respect the Chernigov Principality clearly lagged behind the other Rus lands.

Among the Chernigov towns was distant Tmutarakan on the Taman Peninsula, but an examination of that town should be postponed until the publication of the results of recent excavations.

Chapter Five

SMOLENSK LAND

Smolensk Land lay in the upper reaches of the Dnieper and the Western Dvina, which had been inhabited by the Krivichi since olden times. Smolensk and Toropets were its biggest towns.

Smolensk, according to the primary chronicle, was a town of the Krivichi. The chronicles date its emergence to high antiquity; it is first mentioned in 882 as a town that had existed for some time.[1] Its name is of Slav origin. The Smolyanians were known not only in the upper reaches of the Dnieper but also as far south as the Balkan Peninsula.

Smolensk is very conveniently situated on the Dnieper where it runs close to the Kasplya, a tributary of the Western Dvina. It was the site of the ancient portage between the Dvina and the Dnieper. In the south, Smolensk is near the upper reaches of the Sozh, which is a second waterway running parallel to the Dnieper from north to south. The Dnieper linked Smolensk with the Kiev Land and the Black Sea farther south. Thus, Smolensk stood on the great route "from the Varangians to the Greeks."

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years,* Part 1, pp. 13, 20.

The upper reaches of the Dnieper connected Smolensk with the Volga (through the Vazuza) and the Oka (through the Ugra). The fact that on his way from Murom to Kiev in 1015, Prince Gleb travelled along the Volga route from Smolensk to the Rostov-Suzdal Land proves that it was a very ancient one. From Smolensk the prince planned to reach Kiev by boat.

Smolensk was one of the oldest Rus towns and was known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The Gnezdovo burial ground testifies to its great political and economic importance in the 10th century, after which something hampered its development. Scattered 11th-century reports indicate that it did not in any way stand out among other towns. It is not mentioned among the towns which Vladimir Svyatoslavich distributed among his sons. In 1054, after the death of Yaroslav the Wise, Smolensk passed to his fifth son, Vyacheslav. His principate lasted until 1057 when he was succeeded by his brother Igor, who ruled until 1060. Smolensk Principality did not become a separate unit possibly not only because its ruling families happened to die off but for other reasons as well. This is argued by the division of Smolensk among the three elder Yaroslavichi in 1060: "The Yaroslavichi divided Smolensk into three parts."[1]

Its political rise begins in the late 11th century. In 1095, the Smolensk throne was occupied by Davyd Svyatoslavich, one of the Chernigov princes, and next year its people are reported as actively opposing the installation of Oleg Svyatoslavich.[2] We find the people of Smolensk acting independently during the royal quarrels.

The 11th century appears to have been unfavourable to the town's development, possibly the result of the decline

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[1] *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 109. This is also reported in the *Tver* and *Lvov Chronicles*. The *Voskresensk* and *Sophia Chronicles* date the event to 1054, when, according to the *Chronicle of Ancient Years*, the town fell to Vyacheslav (Part 1, p. 109).

[2] "And the people of Smolensk did not admit him." (*Chronicle of Ancient Years*, Part 1, p. 152.)
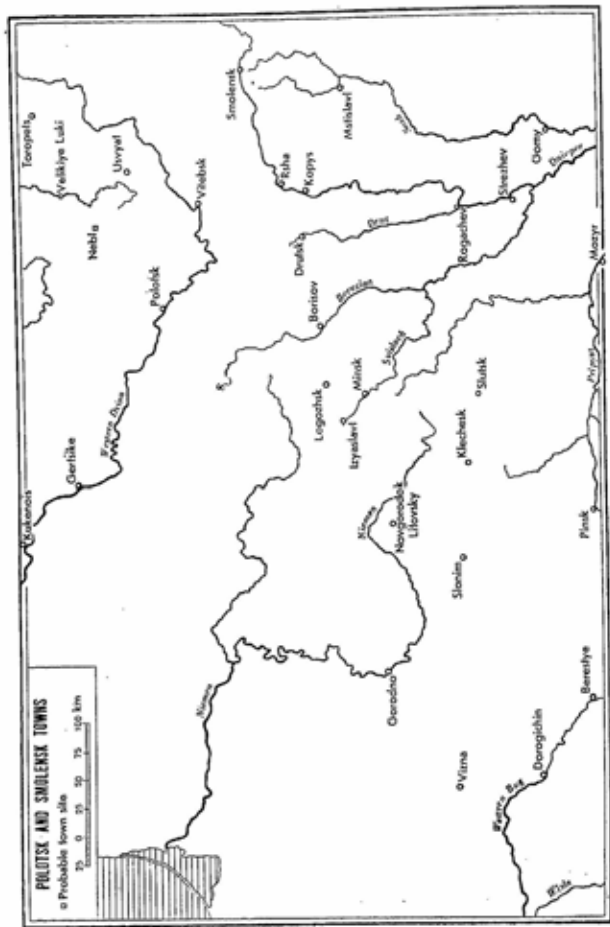
of the route "from the Varangians to the Greeks." This in turn resulted in the decline of several towns along the Dnieper. Among them were Lyubech and Vitichev, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as big towns. By the end of the 11th century, Vitichev Hill was deserted. In the 12th century, we witness the gradual decline of Pereyaslavl on the Trubezh, and there are signs that Kiev itself was on the downgrade. This explains why Smolensk was not prominent among other Rus towns in the 11th century. No wonder the chronicles report the late baptism of Smolensk, which allegedly took place only in 1013. Smolensk was slow in accepting the new faith like distant Rostov and Murom.[1]

The new rise of Smolensk was connected with the name of Vladimir Monomakh, who in 1101 founded a stone Church of the Mother of God called "the bishop's."[2] The latter term indicates that the report in question is a late one and must have made its appearance after the establishment of the Smolensk diocese. None the less, there is no reason to reject the possibility of a stone cathedral having been built under Vladimir Monomakh. Almost at the same time, Vladimir turned his attention to the Zalessk Land where he built a wall around Vladimir on the Klyazma. These two events, however distinct at first sight, are interconnected. The new prosperity in Smolensk was due to the revival of the trade route from the shores of the Baltic to Eastern Europe. And Smolensk flourished as a go-between in East-West trade, which is why its intercourse with Visby and the German towns became of such importance in its trade in the 12th-13th centuries. This is

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[1] И.П. Виноградов, *Исторический очерк города Вязьмы с древнейших времен до XVII века (включительно)* (I. P. Vinogradov, *Historical Essay of the Town of Vyazma from the Earliest Times to the 17th Century [Inclusive]*), Moscow, 1890. The author quotes a MS. now kept at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad (Pogodin's Antiquities, No. 1600).

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 181.

testified to by the various transcripts of Smolensk's well-known treaty with the Germans in 1229 and later.[1]

Rus ties with Western Europe, mainly with Germany, were much more pronounced in Smolensk than elsewhere. This is admirably proved by the inscription on the gravestone of the monk Zinovy, discovered in the ruins of a cloister on the Smyadyn. On one side it reads: "In the month of July, on the third day, the monk Zinovy, a servant of the Lord, went to his account." The other side bears the date 1271 according to the German way of reckoning: 12 hundreds and 71, another version saying 12 hundreds and 19. This has prompted Golubovsky to say: "This is not an official deed, but an everyday fact."[2] The German colony was concentrated around the "Latin" Church of the Mother of God mentioned in the 1229 treaty.

Smolensk's importance grows perceptibly under Rostislav Mstislavich, who in 1141 "built the great city of Smolensk."[3] Smolensk had previously belonged to the Pereyaslavl Russky diocese but now a separate Smolensk diocese was inaugurated.

The reports about Smolensk's topography are contradictory. Golubovsky is of the opinion that in the earliest times the centre of the town lay on the lowlying side, which is proved by the ruins of churches and monasteries discovered there. He adds that it was only the *detinets* that towered on the high bank. Other scholars have argued similarly on the strength of the numerous ruins of ancient churches. Orlovsky, who wrote a paper on the topography of ancient Smolensk, believes that "in the time of Rostislav, Smolensk, like Novgorod, was finally divided into two parts: the main *gorod* with its Cathedral of the Assumption, and the commercial suburb consisting of the

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[1] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, pp. 405-43.
[2] P. V. Golubovsky, *History of the Smolensk Land*, Kiev, 1895, p. 253.
[3] *Smolenskaya starina*, Issue I, Part I, Smolensk, 1909, p. 209.

royal *gorod* on the Smyadyn with the royal temples and landing-stage, the monasteries built by the princes and the neighbouring Nemetskaya Sloboda. The former *gorod* was organized on the *veche* principle since time immemorial, while the latter was more dependent on the prince, although a *veche* was apparently organized there eventually."[1] But Orlovsky's contention is poorly substantiated, because Smyadyn was in the nature of a royal citadel, like Bogolyubovo and Vyshgorod, and cannot be compared with Smolensk.

Ancient Smolensk, like other towns at that time, was made up of two sections: the town proper and the suburb. The report that Rostislav founded a great *gorod* in Smolensk speaks of the vigorous building activities of that prince, who appears to have enlarged the initial *gorod*. The stone churches as well as the rather numerous remains of stone churches in Smolensk give a reminder of its earlier importance. Their architectural style reveals features akin to Romanesque. The ruins of an unnamed church on the Rachevka River revealed Romanesque pilasters, but the marks on the bricks are similar to those found on the bricks of the Svirskaya Church. This fact argues the existence of links between Smolensk and Romanesque architecture, but scarcely warrants the assertion that "Smolensk builders imitated Roman architects."[2] The fine Smolensk brick was made on the spot where a kiln dating from the 12th or 13th century was discovered.

It appears that the citadel (or the *gorod* proper) must have stood on the Sobornaya Hill as early as the 11th or the 12th century. It was there that Vladimir Monomakh

[1] И. Орловский, *Борисоглебский монастырь в Смоленске на Смядыни и раскопки его развалин* (I. Orlovsky, *The Boris and Gleb Monastery on the Smyadyn in Smolensk and the Excavations of Its Ruins*), *Smolenskaya starina*, Issue 1. Part 1, p. 221.

[2] И. М. Хозеров, *Археологическое изучение памятников зодчества древнего Смоленска* (I. M. Khozerov, *Archaeological Studies of Architectural Memorials in Ancient Smolensk*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 20-26.

built the Cathedral of the Mother of God. The towns Monomakh built had common features. In this case, as in Vladimir-on-Klyazma, he chose a rise of ground, but at a distance from the river. The discovery of the Pyatnitsa Tower and the Pyatnitsa Gates in the town wall facing the Church of St. John the Apostle in the suburb gives an idea of the size of ancient Smolensk. At that time the Pyatnitsa Stream, known under that name as late as the 19th century, flowed past the place called Pyatnitsa End. "A wall more than two *arshins* thick" was found "some 50 *sazhens*" from the Church of St. John the Apostle. Several skulls discovered on the site suggest that a church had once stood there.[1] It was Pyatnitsa Church that gave its name to the neighbourhood. Like other churches of that name, it stood in the market square in the suburb beyond the fortifications.

Judging by the distribution of the churches, Smolensk's population was not confined to the highland part of the town, but spread to the riverside section as well. Golubovsky says that "the *gorod* was divided into Gora and Podolye." The latter is mentioned in the *Life of Merkury of Smolensk*. The site of Smolensk's *podol* is unknown, it may have been on the right bank of the Dnieper where the ancient Church of Sts. Peter and Paul has been preserved.

Smyadyn was a separate section of Smolensk. It was a royal citadel of the Vyshgorod and Bogolyubovo type. Legends about Boris and Gleb describe Smyadyn as being still deserted. Gleb was killed and left in the desert under a log. Further on there is mention of hunters (catchers) who were wont to visit the place. Thus, the Smyadyn of the early 11th century appears to be a deserted locality. At the time of the events described in the chronicle it was already a "built-up place" not far from Smolensk.

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[1] *Istoriko-statisticheskoye opisaniye Smolenskoi eparkhii*, St. Petersburg, 1864, p. 222.

Consequently, Smyadyn began to develop in the 11th-12th centuries. The story of the transfer of the coffin of Boris and Gleb from Vyshgorod to Smolensk says that the event took place in 1191, when Prince Davyd Rostislavich of Smolensk decided to turn Smyadyn into a "second Vyshgorod."

Merchants and craftsmen were a prominent section of Smolensk's population. In 1216, fifteen Smolensk merchants were imprisoned in Pereyaslavl Zalessky. The "Smolensk merchants" are mentioned on a par with merchants from Polotsk and Nizovye in the charter deed of the Church of St. John the Baptist on the Opoki. In 1210, Ludolf, "a wise and rich man from Smolensk," negotiated in Riga on behalf of Polotsk Prince Vladimir. The bustle of *veche* activities in Smolensk was reflected in the *Life of Avraamy of Smolensk*. The falsely accused Avraamy was taken to the royal bailey "and he was led through the *grad* ... and the whole *grad* and the market-place and the streets, full of people everywhere, men talking and women and children." In its economic and *veche* activities in the 12th-13th centuries, Smolensk could match such contemporary giants as Novgorod and neighbouring Polotsk.

Smolensk was a prominent cultural centre. Its architectural memorials, which have not been totally destroyed during the occupation of the town by the Nazis, testify to the development of its building industry. The Church of Saints Peter and Paul, the Svirskaya Church, and the Church of St. John the Apostle, are only a moiety of ancient Smolensk. Kliment Smolyatich, one of the most learned men of Ancient Rus, who later became Metropolitan of Kiev, worked in Smolensk. The *Life of Avraamy of Smolensk* is a remarkable memorial of Smolensk letters.

Toropets, which stood on an island formed by the ice-free Toropa River, was the only other big town in that land. As it approaches the town, the Toropa forks and empties into a lake. It is remarkable that a section of the river between the *detinets* and the suburb remains ice-free

over a distance of a verst, and freezes only for three days at the utmost in the bitterest frost. It must have been in that part of the river that the harbour of Toropets was located.[1]

Poboinin says that ancient Toropets stood on a rise of ground called Bolshoye Gorodishche with an adjacent suburb called Stary Posad. In the 17th century, it was known as Staroye Bolshoye Gorodishche of Krivitesk.[2] The *gorodishche* is a round, strongly fortified *detinets*.[3] The town occupied a great area with a circumference of 2.5 kilometres. Present-day Toropets stands in a thick forest surrounded by lakes, but a glance at the map reveals its former commercial importance. Located on the portage between the basins of the Western Dvina and the Lovat, it is an unavoidable portage in one of the most inconvenient places on the great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." Besides, Toropets is quite close to the source of the Volga. This argues that the town emerged at a very early date, although it is first mentioned only in the charter deed of the Smolensk diocese. The *Pechera Paterik* has a somewhat obscure but authentic report on Toropets. It is a hagiography of the Pechera hermit Isaaky, "who when he was still in the world was a rich merchant from Toropets." Isaaky took the monastic vows under Antony, the founder of the cloister, i.e., in the first half of the 11th century. As a layman his name was Chern.[4]

In the middle of the 12th century, Toropets was the second largest centre in Smolensk Land. The 1150 charter

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[1] P. V. Golubovsky, op. cit., p. 61.

[2] И. Побойнин, *Торопецкая старина* (I. Poboinin, *Toropets Antiquities*), *Chtenia v Moskovskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei Rossiiskich*, 1897, Book I.

[3] Я. В. Станкевич, *Итоги археологических работ 1950 года в Великолукской области* (Y. V. Stankevich, *Results of the 1950 Archaeological Excavations in Velikiye Luki Region*), *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, Vol. XLVII, 1952, p. 92.

[4] *Pechera Paterik*, pp. 128, 270.

deed of the Smolensk diocese says that it paid 400 *grivnas* of tribute. ("And there are four hundred *grivnas* of tribute in Toropets.") Its lake fisheries were of considerable importance. It had its own royal house, an indication that the town was somehow distinguished among the other populated localities of that land. In 1169, the people of Toropets are mentioned on an equal footing with those of Polotsk and Smolensk, which shows that Toropets was a developed urban centre. We find a hint at its *veche* activities in the chronicle's report about the campaign undertaken by the "people of Toropets with Prince Davyd" against the Lithuanians in 1225.[1]

A number of Smolensk towns are mentioned in the charter deed of the Smolensk diocese, but the facts are so scattered that it is hard to define any of them as a sizable town. Besides, even in later times we fail to find any big urban centres in that land apart from Smolensk, Toropets, Mstislavl and Roslavl. Nothing is known about them in the records of the 12th-13th centuries. Nasonov, it is true, holds that "the fortresses of Mstislavl and Rostislavl, judging by their names, were built only in the first half of the 12th century."[2] But he does not explain why their names date from the 12th century and from its first half at that. There were numerous Mstislavs and Rostislavs among the princes in Smolensk both in the second half of the 12th century and in the 13th century. As has been seen, a 15th-century chronicler ascribes the construction of Mstislav on the Vekhra to Davyd Rostislavich who died in 1197.

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 221, 269.
[2] A. Nasonov. *"The Russian Land" and the Shaping of the Territory of Ancient Rus*, p. 159. A similar sentence is to be found on page 171.

Chapter Six

POLOTSK LAND

The vast Polotsk Land embraced the greater part of present-day Byelorussia, mainly the Western Dvina, the Niemen, the Berezina and their tributaries. Its boundaries are traced in Zamyslovsky's *Atlas*[1] but are rather minimized in the west. The possessions of the Polotsk princes stretched almost up to the Gulf of Riga, where the Russian-ruled towns of Gertsiké and Kukenois stood on the Western Dvina. The Grodno (Gorodno) area also had a Rus population, although it is not clear whether the so-called Chornaya Rus belonged to the Polotsk or the Volyn Land.

In contrast to the Smolensk Land, the Polotsk Principality boasted of several relatively large towns, among them Vitebsk and Minsk.

Polotsk, its centre, is unquestionably one of the earliest Rus towns, whose beginnings go back to high antiquity. It was named after the Polota River, a tributary of the Western Dvina. Polotsk, or Polotesk, meant a town on the Polota, similar to the Toropets on the Toropa, Vitebsk on the Vidba, etc.

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[1] Y. Zamyslovsky, *A School Atlas on Russian History*, Map No. 2.

The early rise and prosperity of the town were due to its geographical situation. It stood where the upper reaches of the Berezina approach the Western Dvina. The route from Polotsk to the south lay "along the Western Dvina, the Ulla and Essa, then by portage to Lake Plavye which gives rise to the Sergut, a tributary of the Berezina."[1] Thus, Polotsk was linked with Kiev by an almost unbroken waterway, whose ancient origin and actual importance can be proved only by systematic excavations. But I must add here and now that the records confirm the existence of a route from Polotsk to Kiev along the Berezina. Thus, three of the Yaroslavichi brothers undertook a winter campaign against Polotsk in 1067. On their way there they took Minsk, from which it follows that they proceeded to Polotsk along the Berezina. The same route (via Logozhsk) was taken in 1127 by an army of Mstislav Vladimirovich which set out from Kiev, while the forces of his allies invaded the Polotsk Land by other routes.[2]

This direct link between Polotsk and the basin of the Berezina and the Dnieper explains its early intercourse with the Scandinavians, whose sagas repeatedly mention the town. This route along the Western Dvina up to Polotsk and on along the Berezina and the Dnieper to the Black Sea may well have been another variant of the famous route "from the Varangians to the Greeks." The waterway along the Western Dvina eastwards from Polotsk to Vitebsk and on to Smolensk, into the heart of Rus, was of still greater importance.

Polotsk is on the right (northern) bank of the Western Dvina. The Polota River cuts the town in two. Its earliest section was the Verkhny Zamok, which occupied a headland above the Polota, where it joins the Western Dvina. The existence of the stone St. Sophia Church argues this

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[1] В. Е. Данилевич, *Пути сообщения Полоцкой земли до конца XIV ст.* (V. Y. Danilevich, *Communications in the Polotsk Land up to the End of the 14th Century*), Yuryev, 1898, p. 9.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 162, 283.

to have been the centre of ancient Polotsk. Art historians date the church to the late 11th or early 12th century, but the Sophia Cathedral in Polotsk is mentioned in *The Lay of Igor's Host*, in connection with biographical details of Vseslav of Polotsk and his brief reign in Kiev in 1068. Nizhny Zamok and the territory on the other side of the Polota, the so-called Zapolotye, lay near Verkhny Zamok.

Only a few cursory remarks can be made about the topography of ancient Polotsk because reports about it in the records are very few and have scarcely been studied. Polotsk is clearly divided into two parts—the aristocratic upper section (Verkhny Zamok) and Podol. There is an interesting report on this point from the late 16th century by Heidenstein who says: "Polotsk consists of two castles—the Upper on a hill and the Lower, or as it is called by Muscovites, Streletsky, and the town of Zapolotye. At one time the town stood on the left bank of the Polota at the foot of the hill."[1] This report is a possible echo of local tradition that the place just below the citadel on the bank of the Western Dvina, the so-called Podol, was populated. Present-day Zapolotye is apparently the result of subsequent growth.

The history of the Polotsk Land is obscure and we have only a very faint idea of its political development. But the little we know suggests that Polotsk was one of the biggest towns of Rus. One is struck particularly by the prominence of the Polotsk princes in the 10th-12th centuries. In the late 10th century, Polotsk had its own ruler—Prince Rogvolod. The town's independent status was underscored by the establishment in it of the descendants of Vladimir Svyatoslavich by Rogneda, an ancient branch of the Polotsk princes which sprang from Izyaslav through the feminine line. This fact, the chronicle says, explains the bitter enmity between the Polotsk princes

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[1] V. P. Semyonov, *Russia*, Vol. IX, *Upper Reaches of the Dnieper Area and Byelorussia*, St. Petersburg, 1905, p. 503.

and Yaroslav's descendants: "And since that time the grandchildren of Rogvolod raised the sword against the grandchildren of Yaroslav."[1]

With the development of handicrafts and trade, Polotsk became a major town and a match for Novgorod and Smolensk. Its past is illuminated by the stone St. Sophia's Cathedral, the Church of the Saviour in Yevfrosinia's Monastery and the ruins in Belchitsy. The precious cross which belonged to Princess Yevfrosinia is a magnificent memorial of Polotsk art. It was made in 1161 by Lazar, known as Bogsha, apparently a local craftsman. Another Bogsha from Staraya Rusa is mentioned in the *Novgorod Annals* for 1224.

Later documents (13th and 14th centuries) describe Polotsk as a great commercial centre carrying on a lively intercourse with Riga. Its main exports were wax and honey, flax, bacon, etc. A deed dating from the second half of the 13th century says that the people of Polotsk and Vitebsk were granted "free trade rights in Riga, and the Gothic coast, and in Lübeck." The document also mentions "the old peace" between the Polotsk Land and the German towns.[2] Inscribed stones discovered on the Western Dvina testify to the maintenance of the water routes by the Polotsk princes.[3]

The political role of the people in Polotsk was enhanced in the 12th century. Like the people of other big towns they "gather for the *veche* as for a council."[4] Later we find a *veche* in Polotsk which functioned like its counterpart in Novgorod. A highly obscure and late report in the West Russian annals ascribes the inauguration of

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 226-27; 284-85.
[2] *Russko-livonskiye akty*, p. 13.
[3] В. П. Таранович, *К вопросу о древних лапидарных памятниках с историческими надписями на территории Белорусской ССР* (V. P. Taranovich, *Concerning Ancient Stone Memorials with Historic Inscriptions on the Territory of the Byelorussian Republic*), *Sovetskaya arkheologia*, VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, pp. 249-60.
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 358, for 1176.

civic freedoms to Prince Boris, who "was kind to his subjects and gave them freedoms and allowed them to have a *veche*, and toll bells, and rule themselves as they did in Great Novgorod and in Pskov." After the death of Boris' children the people of Polotsk "began to rule themselves, as in Great Novgorod and in Pskov, and had no lord over them."[1] The most interesting feature of this late report is its mention of the *veche* system which was established in Polotsk in imitation of neighbouring Pskov and Novgorod.

The remains of stone structures in Polotsk and its surroundings in Belchitsy indicate the high level of its culture. Its written records have practically all perished, but that they had existed is proved by the remarkable *Life of the Polotsk Princess Yevfrosinia*. Excerpts of Polotsk letters have also been preserved in Tatishchev's *History of Russia* (the story of Svyatokhna, etc.). Songs extolling the feats of Vseslav of Polotsk have come down to us through the medium of Rus epic lore. *The Lay of Igor's Host* proves that they were sung as early as the 12th century.

Vitebsk, the second biggest town in the Polotsk Land, is situated on the left (southern) bank of the Western Dvina where that river is nearest the Dnieper. Thus, Vitebsk was on the ancient route "from the Varangians

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, St. Petersburg, 1907, col. 362-63. The West Russian annals are wont to confuse their chronology in order to represent the Polotsk princes as the descendants of the grand princes of Lithuania. Prince Boris turns out to be Ginval, the son of Mingail. In Polotsk, Boris built the Cathedral of St. Sophia, a Church of the Saviour and a monastery in Belchitsy. His daughter Paraskovya took the veil and later went to Rome where she was buried. She was called St. "Praskydus." Her brother was Gleb. This is a manifest corruption of the biography of Praskovya-Yevfrosinia, who died in Polotsk. But there was another Praskovya, or Praksida, a Russian princess who married Henry IV and warred against Boris. The church in Rome may have been dedicated to her since she was connected with the Papacy. See S. P. Rozanov, *Yevpraksia-Adelheida Vsevolodovna* (*Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR*, No. 8, Leningrad, 1929).

to the Greeks." A direct road from Vitebsk to the south must initially have run to Orsha along a network of small rivers and lakes.

Another route along the Kasplya led from the Western Dvina to Smolensk. The northern route to the Lovat ran along the Usvyat, and this was noted in the annals. Finally, the Western Dvina led from Vitebsk to Polotsk and then on to the Gulf of Riga.

The town derived its name from the Vidba River; it stands at its confluence with the Western Dvina. It is first mentioned as "Vidbesk" in 1021 in connection with the war of the Polotsk Prince Bryachislav against Yaroslav the Wise. The victorious Yaroslav concluded peace with Bryachislav and gave him two towns: Vosvyach (Usvyat) and Vidbesk.[1] This suggests that these towns were the apple of discord between the two princes and that Vitebsk belonged to the Polotsk Land from time immemorial.

The relatively late emergence of Vitebsk in the annals does not contradict the idea that it was one of the earliest Rus towns. A late chronicle of that town ascribes the founding of Vitebsk to Princess Olga who in 974 built a wooden citadel and called it Vitebsk after the Vidba River. She also built, *wymurowala* (i.e., built of stone), a church in Verkhny Zamok dedicated to St. Mikhail, and another Church of the Annunciation in Nizhny Zamok.

The late origin of this report is proved by its erroneous chronology, for by 974 Olga had been long since buried but it is quite possible that the town did stand in the 10th century since it was situated, as we have seen, on a great water artery. In the 12th century, Vitebsk was a separate appanage.

After 1021, reports about Vitebsk do not occur until the second half of the 12th century, and in this its history is reminiscent of that of Smolensk. A revival on the trade

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol. VII, p. 328.

route along the Western Dvina was immediately felt in Vitebsk. In 1165, "Davyd Rostislavich sat in Vitebsk," and the town came into the possession of the Smolensk princes. Subsequent events make it clear that the Polotsk princes did not relinquish their claims to Vitebsk. In 1180, it was once again ruled by Bryachislav, a member of the Polotsk royal family. The town played a prominent part in the royal quarrels for the possession of the lands. That is a measure of its importance in Ancient Rus.[1]

The earliest part of Vitebsk was probably on the site of Verkhny Zamok (Citadel), built on a hill at the confluence of the Vidba and the Western Dvina. A 1664 plan of the town shows the territory of the Verkhny Zamok as relatively small. The territory of Nizhny Zamok was settled at an early date, since it had an ancient Church of the Annunciation dating from the 12th century. It appears that even at the earliest period, Vitebsk sprawled beyond the territory of Verkhny and Nizhny citadels and had a *posad* which in the 16th-17th centuries was known as Ostrog or Vzgorsky Gorod. In 1664, it had a commercial counter, undoubtedly of ancient origin, which stood near Verkhny and Nizhny citadels. The counter was situated just beyond its gates, the usual place for markets.[2] The ancient name of Ostrog, which designated the place on the right bank of the Vidba, may have originated in the pre-Mongolian period.

The records of the second half of the 13th century and the early 14th century describe Vitebsk as a great town trading with Riga and the German towns.

Usvyat, or Vsvyat (Vsvyay, Vosvyato), was situated near the Western Dvina on the Usvyach River and Lake Usvyat, which gave the town its name in its various versions. It stood at the start of the portage between the Lovat and the Usvyach which empties into the Western

[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 359, 361, 419, 465.
[2] *Chertezhi gor. Vitebska 1664 g.* (*Trudy Vitebskoi uchyonoi komissii*), Book 1, Vitebsk, 1910.

Dvina. Bernstein-Kogan, who doubts the existence of portages between the Lovat and the Western Dvina, admits the possibility of such a route. He notes correctly the possibility that such a route was used in winter when "portages were not employed."[1]

Usvyat is first mentioned in the annals in 1021[2] together with Vitebsk.

There is scarcely enough information for us to judge of Usvyat's antiquities. We are only aware that a citadel was built in 1566 on the site of an earlier *gorodishche* called Mezhevo. There are many earthen memorials around the town, among them "man-made hills" on the eastern bank of Lake Usvyat, where it runs in a narrow channel to join Lake Uzmen. These hills stand at a distance of some 250 *sazhens* from each other. "The hills are from 6 to 8 *sazhens* high, and occupy an area of about a quarter of a *desyatina*."[3] The fact that the Usvyat district is densely populated suggests that it may have had a relatively big urban centre.

A group of Polotsk towns in the area of present-day Minsk stood at a distance from the Western Dvina and the Dnieper. One of the most ancient of them was **Minsk** (Mensk or Menesk), which derived its name from the Menka River which empties into the Ptich near the town. In 1066, Minsk is first mentioned in the annals as a relatively big town besieged by three princes of the Yaroslavichi family. "The people of Menesk barricaded themselves in the *grad*, but the brothers took Menesk, and killed the men, and carried off the women and children into captivity, and went towards the Nemiga."[4] This is an indication that Minsk was not limited to a citadel, but that its population

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[1] С. В. Бернштейн-Коган, *Путь из Варяг в Греки* (S. V. Bernstein-Kogan, *The Route from the Varangians to the Greeks*), *Voprosy geografii*, Collection No. 20, Moscow, 1950, p. 259.

[2] *PSRL*, Vol. VII, p. 328.

[3] А. М. Сементовский, *Белорусские древности* (A. M. Sementovsky, *Byelorussian Antiquities*), Issue I, St. Petersburg, 1890, pp. 59, 32-33.

[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 162.

was sufficiently big to have risked resistance to the joint forces of the three princes.

The town is on a small river called the Svisloch, a right tributary of the Berezina. The upper reaches of that river lie near the Rybchanka and the Usha, both tributaries of the Vilia. This was apparently the ancient route from the Dnieper to the Niemen. It appears then that Minsk was a major portage point on the great route from Kiev to the shores of the Baltic Sea.

The importance of Minsk in the late 11th and early 12th century is emphasized by the words of Vladimir Monomakh who in a list of his feats mentions the sack of the town in 1119: "We attacked the town and left neither man nor beast in it."[1] Monomakh's second campaign against Minsk was less successful, for he only "stood near Minsk."[2] Generally speaking, Minsk played a prominent role in the wars between the Kiev and the Polotsk princes, for it was an outpost on the road from Kiev to Polotsk.[3] In the early 12th century, it was ruled by the Polotsk Prince Gleb Vseslavich, against whom Vladimir Monomakh waged constant war.

The earliest section of the town must have been situated in the area of Nizky Rynok where the excavations of 1950 revealed remains of walls known as Zamchishche. Traces of the first settlement in Zamchishche go back to the 11th century. Its cultural layer is very thin and is the site of a 12th-century stone temple. The very fact that a stone temple was built in Zamchishche shows that ancient Minsk was an important centre. The temple was very probably destroyed in the sack of the town in 1119. A gold bracelet made of three thick strands ending in a serpent's head, found in the excavations in the temple, may have been fashioned by local jewellers. The thin 11th-century

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239.
[2] Ibid., p. 276.
[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 185.

cultural layer in Zamchishche shows that it was the site only of the royal citadel surrounded by a *posad*.

The town had a developed tanning and metal-working industry to say nothing of bone-carving, since bone articles have been found in practically every town of the pre-Mongolian period.[1]

Several other towns, treated by the annals as rather big populated localities, give an indication of the size of the population of the Minsk area.

Drutsk, or Dryutesk, at present a small Byelorussian town, stood in the upper reaches of the Drut River, which gave it its name. It is first mentioned in 1092 among the Polotsk towns.[2] In the events of the mid-12th century, Drutsk appears as one of the major towns of the Polotsk Land. "More than 300 people from Drutsk and Polotsk" went to meet Rogvolod Borisovich, one of the pretenders to the Polotsk throne. The people of Drutsk are mentioned on a par with those of Polotsk, although Drutsk was only a suburb of the latter. Facts about its development are gleaned from the stories in the annals about the part played by the people of Drutsk in the princely quarrels.

What the town looked like is suggested by "traces of an earthen wall and a deep moat," which may be seen on the island in the lake through which the Drut flows.[3] They are the remains of ancient Drutsk which derived its importance from the fact that the upper reaches of the Drut were very close to the rivers of the Western Dvina basin.

We know much less about **Borisov**, which stands in the upper reaches of the Berezina, i.e., on the waterway from Kiev to Polotsk. It is first mentioned in 1128 in connection

[1] В. Р. Тарасенко, *Раскопки Минского Замчища в 1950 году* (V. R. Tarasenko, *Excavations of the Minsk Zamchishche in 1950*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 125-32; see also his *Раскопки Минского Замчища* (*Excavations of the Minsk Zamchishche*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 122-28.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 208, *Ipaty Annals*, p. 339.

[3] V. P. Semyonov, *Russia*, Vol. IX, p. 399.

with the campaign of Mstislav Vladimirovich against the Polotsk princes. However, Tatishchev reports that in 1102 "Boris Vseslavich of Polotsk campaigned against the Yatvyagi and upon his victorious return built the town of Borisov in his name and settled it with people."[1] It is very probable that the town did originate in this manner, particularly since later West Russian annals also report that Prince Boris built "in his name" the town of Borisov on the Berezina, although they confuse Polotsk princes with the Lithuanian.[2]

Some importance attached to **Logozhsk**, which stood on the Gaina River where it was nearest to the upper reaches of some of the rivers that drain into the Vilia. The town and its people were first mentioned in 1128. They were also mentioned by Vladimir Monomakh. Logozhsk apparently got its name from the word *log*—a valley, for the town does lie in a valley surrounded by highland.[3]

Izyaslavl was one of the most ancient towns of the Minsk area. According to a legend rehearsed in the annals it was built by Vladimir Svyatoslavich who named it in honour of his son Izyaslav, the founder of the Polotsk royal house.[4] The town stands in the upper reaches of the Svisloch River which, as has been seen, led to the basin of the Vilia. Legend and invention alike, very little is known about this town in the 11th century.[5] Highly authentic information about the town is given in the annals for 1127, in connection with the war between Mstislav Vladimirovich and the Polotsk princes. By that time Izyaslavl must have had a fortified citadel.[6] There is men-

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210; see V. N. Tatishchev, *Russian History*, Book 2, Moscow, 1773, p. 199.

[2] *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, p. 479.

[3] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 210; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 239; V. P. Semyonov, *Russia*, Vol. IX, p. 410.

[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 285.

[5] V. P. Semyonov, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 516. The author recounts the legends about the grave of Rogneda, etc.

[6] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 283.

tion of a lake, called the Rogned, as well as of walls near the town. Tradition has it that the Church of the Transfiguration was built on the site of the Monastery of Rogneda, whose Christian name was Anastasia. This is plausible because cathedral churches in ancient towns were often named in honour of the Transfiguration but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction in these reports about Izyaslavl antiquities. Excavations by Lyavdansky have established that Izyaslavl's ramparts were built at a later date (not earlier than the 15th century).[1] In the 12th century it declined markedly and yielded its position to neighbouring Minsk.

Gorodno, later known as Grodno, was another important town of the Polotsk Land, but reports in the annals about it are so fragmentary that at times it is hard to say which town they mean. It is mentioned in the *Ipaty Annals* in 1132 in an account of the campaign of the Kiev Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich against Lithuania together with "Vsevolod of Gorodno."[2] It should be noted that later Byelorussian annals call it Goroden,[3] Gorodnya, Gorodok. The fact that its prince took part in the campaign against Lithuania is an indication that it stood very near that country. In 1127, the same Vsevolod campaigned against the Krivichi, his regiments proceeding from Turov, Vladimir Volynsky, Gorodno and Klechesk.[4]

Goroden once again occurs in 1183 in connection with a conflagration when the entire town, including its stone church, was razed.[5] The chronicler noted particularly the burning of the stone church. It is once again mentioned

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[1] *Zapiski addzelu gumanitarnykh navuk*, Book 5, Transactions of the Archaeology Department, Vol. I, Minsk, 1928 (articles by A. N. Lyavdansky and others).
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 212. His death is reported in 1141 (p. 221).
[3] *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, col. 56.
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 282-83.
[5] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 428.

in 1253 and 1260. Curiously enough, the item for 1260 uses the variants Goroden and Gorodno.[1]

Its name is of Slav origin and may have sprung from the word *gorodnya*—the abutment of a bridge or a section of a rampart. The town stands on the Niemen and was possibly identified with the bridge across the river at that point. The existence of bridge abutments near the old town is indicated by the name of the Gorodnichanka River which empties into the Niemen nearby.

The scarcity of the written records about Gorodno is redressed by archaeological materials, which describe the town as a sizable centre on the outskirts of Rus. The ancient town (Stary Zamok) stood on a high headland, where the Gorodnichanka empties into the Niemen. The cultural layer at the Stary Zamok is up to 8 metres thick or one-quarter of the 32 metres the hill rises above the Niemen. Voronin suggests that Citadel Hill must have been settled roughly in the early 12th century, when the first reports of Gorodno occur.

Numerous finds on the site reveal Gorodno to have been a big industrial and commercial centre. Of particular interest are the moulds for casting "pseudo-grained beads, stellular pendants and ornamented rings." They show the existence in Gorodno of craftsmen's workshops. Also interesting is the finding of the remains of a gold-embroidered belt with suspended keys, possibly a part of the costume of a cellarer who, according to *Russkaya Pravda*, turned a *kholop* if he undertook to supervise a feudal household and wore keys as a sign of his office. Other finds included grains of rye, millet and peas, an iron plough-point, as well as miscellaneous metal and wooden household utensils.

The remains of 16 wooden structures stand in the shape of 4 by 4 metre timbered sections calked with moss. The roofs were of the common gable type.

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 544, 561. The 1871 Index to the *Ipaty Annals* for some reason lists the two as different towns.

A *posad* near the citadel stretched beyond the Gorodnichanka River where the 12th-century Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb stood on a hill. There were other stone buildings in Gorodno as well, such as the lower church on Citadel Hill which was decorated with majolica.

The remains of another building, initially believed to have been a *terem*, were discovered; its masonry was similar to that of the lower church. Voronin suggests that it was "a section of the tower." To the west of it were discovered the remains of walls up to 1.4 metres thick, 1.8 metres high and about 4.5 metres long.[1] This may have been the tower described in the *Ipaty Annals* for 1277, which say: "A high stone column stood at the entrance of the town gates, and it was there that the Prussy locked themselves up, so that no one could pass by to enter the town because they sowed death from that column, and so they attacked it and took it. And great fear and horror beset the town, and the townsfolk were as dead, standing on the town walls watching the capture of the column because they pinned their hopes on it."[2] Such a tower could have been built in the 13th century when similar towers made their appearance in other towns, and not in the first half of the 12th century, as Voronin believes.[3]

I think the author is quite right in saying that Grodno was not an isolated island in a sea of foreigners "but had the support of other Rus towns in the Niemen area."

Grodno, on the border of Rus and Lithuania, had a culture and architecture with a character apart. It would

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[1] Н.Н. Воронин, *Древнее Гродно* (N. N. Voronin, *Ancient Grodno*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 41, Moscow, 1954; see also his *Раскопки в Гродно* (Excavations in Grodno), *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 138-141.

[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 579.

[3] N. N. Voronin, *Ancient Grodno* (*Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 41, p. 202).

not be too bold an assertion to say that it had a literature of its own. Recall in *The Lay of Igor's Host* the poetic portrait of Izyaslav Vasilyevich who alone drummed his sword on the Lithuanian helmets and was later killed on the blood-soaked grass by Lithuanian swords. The account ends with the words: "Gorodno's trumpets blare."[1] Students of *The Lay* will now scarcely doubt that Izyaslav was connected with Gorodno, or Goroden.

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[1] *The Lay of Igor's Host,* edited by V. P. Adrianova-Perets, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p. 34.

NOVGOROD LAND

Novgorod Land had only a small number of towns scattered over a wide expanse. Staraya Rusa alone was situated some 60-70 kilometres from Novgorod on the other shore of Lake Ilmen. Ladoga, Torzhok and Pskov were from 200 to 250 kilometres away from the throne town.

Novgorod itself was a giant city in comparison with the other towns in the northern part of Ancient Rus.

Its rapid growth was due primarily to its central position on the ramified water system of Lake Ilmen and the Volkhov. It was on the route "from the Varangians to the Greeks" at a point where that route is nearest to the upper reaches of the Volga, so that it was a juncture of the two greatest waterways in the East-European Plain.

The Volkhov River linked Novgorod with Lake Ladoga and further on, through the Neva, with the Gulf of Finland. The Volkhov rapids were no insurmountable obstacle for trading vessels guided by local pilots but were a protection against sudden attack by pirates. This applied particularly to the Swedish feudals, who so often visited the shores of Finland but were never able to penetrate past Lake Ladoga into the Novgorod area.

NOVGOROD TOWNS

35   0   35   70   105 km

Beloozero
Lake Beloye

Lake Onega
Syas

Olonets

Ladoga

Lake Ladoga

Neva

Volkhov

Velikiy Novgorod

Lake Ilmen

Staraya Russa

Lake Peipus
(Chudskoye)

Yuryev

Pskov

Izborsk

Velikiye Luki

Msta

Pola

Lovat

Molога

Yaroslavl

Tvertsa

Torzhok
(Novy Torg)

Lake Seliger

Morёva

Tver

Volga

Velikaya
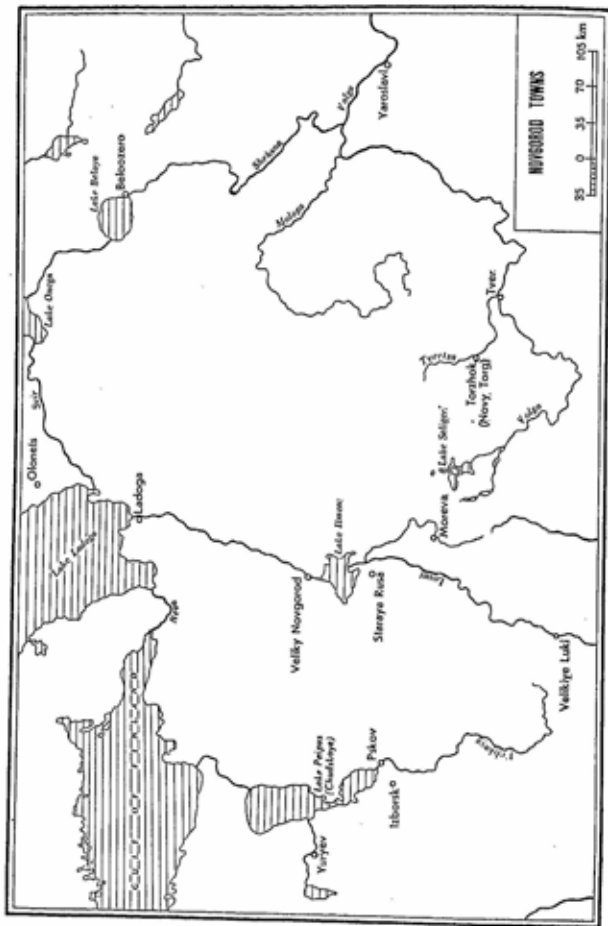
Lake Ilmen was the focal point of several big rivers which served as waterways. The route connecting Novgorod with the Volga was of major importance. Initially it led along the Pola River and its tributaries to Lake Seliger and the upper reaches of the Volga. The ancient Sterzhen and Seliger routes are mentioned in the chronicle reports about the Novgorod campaign to the Volga area in 1216, and the Tatar invasion of Novgorod along the Seliger route. The latter reached a point where a cross stood on the Sterzhen dating from 1133, a reminder of *posadnik* Ivanko Pavlovich, who was killed in the battle on Zhdan Hill in 1134.

The route along the Msta River and the overland road to Torzhok were apparently blazed much later. There was a direct route from Torzhok along the Tvertsa to where it flows into the Volga, a route which became very important in the 13th century. Until then the main route must have led along the Msta and further on along the Medveditsa River. The importance of the latter was due to the fact that it approached the Volga where it took in the Nerl which led to Pereyaslavl Zalessky and into the heart of the Rostov-Suzdal Land. West of Novgorod flowed the Shelon River, which at one point runs very near the Cherekh, a tributary of the Velikaya on which Pskov stood. As for the Luga River, it was not very important in the 10th-13th centuries because the overland route to its upper reaches made its appearance much later, as indicated by such towns as Yam and Koporye.[1]

A network of lakes and rivers connected Novgorod with the north of Rus. There was a route to Lake Beloye, the Sukhona, the Onega and the White Sea.

The *Lavrenty Annals* date its emergence to high antiquity and ascribe its construction to the Slovenes, who "sat near Lake Ilmer, were called by their own name and made a *grad* and called it Novgorod." *Ipaty Annals* ascribe

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[1] An interesting description of the waterways which led to Novgorod is given by S. A. Tarakanova (*Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo muzeya*, Issue II, Moscow, 1940, pp. 161-63).

its construction to Ryurik, a doubtful suggestion, since nothing is said of this in the *Novgorod Annals* which are based on the primary chronicle that precedes the *Chronicle of Ancient Years*. In any case, Novgorod should be regarded as one of the earliest Rus towns which was already in existence in the 9th century. In the next century it was regarded as being second only to Kiev and as a consequence usually ruled by the sons of the grand princes. Under Igor, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, it was his son Svyatoslav and later Vladimir.

Novgorod's traditional division into the Sophia and the Torgovaya sections is traced back to the 11th century. This is made clear in the report of the 1097 fire in Novgorod: "In the spring the second half was burnt, and on the third day the *detinets*. The town burnt down."[1]

Until very recently the Slavno End was regarded as its most ancient section. Excavations by Artsikhovsky on Slavno Hill, and by Strokov and Bogusevich on the site of Yaroslav's bailey have undermined this theory. The discovery of a 10th-century heathen burial ground on the site of the latter suggests that it was not settled in that century, but on the contrary that "it was an important religious landmark of ancient Novgorod."[2]

There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that Sophia Storona with its *detinets*, rather than Torgovaya, was the earlier section. At any rate, the *gorod*, i.e., the *detinets*, was already in existence in 989.[3] It had a wooden church of St. Sophia which stood at the end of Biskuplya (Bishop) Street.

The lack of reports about the settlement of the Slavno End and even Yaroslav's bailey up to the 11th century suggests that Novgorod's *posad* began to take shape mainly in the

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 202.

[2] *Novgorodsky istorichesky sbornik*, Issue III-IV, pp. 199-205. This is supported by Artsikhovsky's latest excavations (*Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 158-59).

[3] "And a man from Pidba went early to the river, wishing to take his pots to the *gorod*." (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 160.)

10th century, a fact supported by excavations. The 1016 story of Yaroslav's quarrel with the Novgorodians makes it clear that the town was very small at the time. Incensed at the misdeeds of the alien Varangians, the people of Novgorod, in Yaroslav's absence, massacred them in Poromon's bailey. Yaroslav "was ired at the *grazhane*" and killed many of them by a ruse, while "others fled from the *grad*." Having learnt of the death of his father, Yaroslav repented and "called a *veche* in the field."[1]

In spite of the obscure topographical facts in the chronicle, it is none the less clear that the bulk of Novgorod's population lived in the *gorod*, a term meaning the *detinets*.

Lyudin, or Potter's, End first mentioned in 1194, was possibly the earliest of Novgorod's districts.[2] The name *Lyudin* is traced back to high antiquity when the word *lyudi* was used to denote the mass of common people, in this case the townsfolk. The famous Pushkin transcript of *Russkaya Pravda* makes a distinction between a *lyudin* and a princely *muzh*: a fine of 40 *grivnas* was imposed for the murder of the former and 80 for that of the latter.[3] This meaning of the term *lyudin* as a common and even indentured person is emphasized in the *Court Law for the Lyudi* which says: "If a *lyudin* runs away from the prince, he should be well beaten."

An analysis of the names of Novgorod's streets reveals the history of its settlement. Sixteenth-century court-rolls say that Potter's (Lyudin) End had the following streets: Dobrynya's, Volos', Chernitsyna, Ryaditina, Vozdvizhenskaya and Luka's streets.[4] Of these Vozdvizhenskaya and Luka's are named after churches and Chernitsyna,

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3] *Russkaya Pravda*, Vol. 1, p. 404 (variant taken from the Arkheografichesky transcript).
[4] В. В. Майков, *Книга писцовая по Новгороду Великому конца XVI в.* (V. V. Maikov, *Great Novgorod's Court-Roll of the Late 16th Century*), St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 159-89.

after the Chernitsyn Convent. I do not venture to explain the origin of the Ryaditina Street, but Volos' and Dobrynya's streets were names in olden times. The first derived its name from Volos, the cattle god, later identified with Vlasy. Dobrynya Street takes us back either to the famous voivode of Vladimir Svyatoslavich in the early 11th century, or the *posadnik* Dobrynya who died in 1117.

Some of the streets in Sophia Storona were just as old, among them Prusskaya and Chudintseva. Without speculating on the name of Prusskaya Street, I must say that the name *Prussy* occurs elsewhere in Rus records. A battle was fought at the foot of Pruskova Hill on the Koloksha River near Vladimir in 1177.[1] It is not improbable that the name Prussy was derived from the settlement of merchants who traded with the Baltic (Prussia). Chudintseva Street had a similar origin and was named after the merchants who traded with the Chud (Estonia) or after the Estonians who lived in Novgorod.

There are some topographical facts proving the antiquity of Lyudin End. A *posad* usually sprang up under the walls of a citadel. And that was the case in Novgorod where Lyudin End was an extension of the *detinets*. This is proved by Bishop Street which led from Sophia Cathedral to Lyudin End where it passed into Dobrynya's Street. Excavations on the site of the *detinets* show that the street which has now ceased to exist was settled as late as the 16th-17th centuries.

The subsequent decline of Lyudin End as a business section is easily explained. It lay much too far away from the river and this greatly inconvenienced the handling of cargoes at the riverside landing-stages, so that trade gradually shifted to Torgovaya Storona in the eastern section of the town, while Lyudin End remained its industrial section.

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[1] *Yuryev Polsky i Romanovskiye votchiny Smerdovo i Kliny*, Moscow, 1912, pp. 32-33.

Novgorod's *posad* naturally spread not only south of the *detinets* but also northwards in the direction of Nerevsky End which was known under that name as early as 1172.[1] In the 11th-12th centuries it was one of Novgorod's most densely populated sections and had an appreciable number of stone churches. That is where the birch-bark scrolls were discovered.

A few settlements were in existence in Torgovaya Storona as early as the 9th-10th centuries, but they were not a part of the *gorod*. Slavno Hill with its later Church of Ilya the Prophet may be regarded as one of these early populated localities. Churches dedicated to Ilya the Prophet were built in many Rus towns in the earliest period. This was due to the transfer of the religious cult from Perun the God of Thunder to Ilya (Elijah) with his fiery chariot.

Torgovaya Storona became an important part of the town when people settled on the banks of the Volkhov. Yaroslav the Wise organized one of these settlements and Veche Square subsequently bore his name. People well remembered where Yaroslav's settlement stood even as late as the 16th-17th centuries when the *Novgorod Chronicle of God's Churches* was compiled. It said: "And Grand Prince Yaroslav lived in Torgovaya Storona near the Volkhov River, where the stone church to Nikolai Chudotvorets now stands, and it is still called Yaroslav's bailey."[2]

There is yet another name that takes us back to Yaroslav's time. One of the *vymols*—landing-stages—was called Harald's *vymol* and this reminds us of the Harald who wooed Yelizaveta, a daughter of Yaroslav the Wise. Torgovaya Storona had a number of advantages over Sophia Storona from the commercial point of view. It was low but was never flooded at high water. At that point the river makes a bend, thus lengthening the shore-line and the landing-stages. The fact that the river was deeper near the right bank must also have been of some importance.

[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

After that Torgovaya Storona grew rapidly chiefly in the 11th century. Its stone churches were built in the early 12th century. A cathedral (now the Nikolo-Dvorishchensky) was built in the "princely court," and the Church of John the Baptist on the Opoki in Petryatin's bailey. Novgorod's market-place (*torgovishche*) was finally established in Torgovaya Storona.

The report of the 1105 fire reveals a few topographical details of the latter. That fire destroyed households "from the stream past the Slavno up to St. Ilya's." The stream in question must be the Fyodorovsky Stream which flows almost in the middle of Torgovaya Storona. Slavno was considerably more to the south of the stream while St. Ilya's was nearby. Thus, the houses that were razed occupied all the territory of the later Slavno End. The stream must have been the initial border-line of the *posad* in Torgovaya Storona and served as a moat surrounding the rampart of Slavno End beyond which to the north there were only straggling settlements. In the fire of 1152, Torgovaya Storona was once again destroyed from the market-place and the stream up to Slavno, which meant that the latter was still a separate section of Slavno End.[1]

The Fyodorovsky Stream was named much later after the Church of Fyodor Stratilat. It stood on the stream which was known as the Plotnitsky (Carpenter's) Stream. In the late 12th century, the territory beyond the Fyodorovsky, or Plotnitsky, Stream was known as *v Plotnikakh* and this name endured until the 14th century.[2]

Thus, the main territory of Great Novgorod took shape by the 12th century with the *posad* sprawling over a greater area than the *detinets*, the first sign of a big town with a large industrial population of merchants and craftsmen.

Above, I have repeatedly dwelt on the development of Novgorod industries. Novgorod was the centre of the most

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 19, 29.
[2] Ibid., p. 43.

diverse industries; its territory abounds in miscellaneous remains. It had a developed tanning, pottery, armour-making and jewellery industry. The reader will find an exhaustive study of these industries in the archaeological papers of Artsikhovsky and his associates.[1]

Novgorod's wealth was emphasized by the large-scale stone construction in the 11th-13th centuries. One important fact should be noted: parallel to the construction of stately buildings by the princes, such as the Sophia Cathedral, the Nikola Cathedral in Dvorishche, and the Yuri Cathedral, similar undertakings were launched by prominent Novgorod citizens. A magnificent memorial of that period is the Antony Monastery whose cathedral was built in 1119 and decorated with frescoes in 1125.[2] It was built by Anton, a rich merchant, as a subsequent biography reveals. The chronicler knew who that Anton was and did not elaborate on his personality. No wonder the chronicler notes the year of his installation as superior of the monastery and the year of his death. In splendour, Antony's Monastery matched the royal Yuri Monastery and this proves that great wealth accumulated in the hands of individuals in Novgorod.

I must also note the existence in Novgorod of the Gothic and German counters, the Varangian chapel, the churches of merchants' patron saints (Pyatnitsa of the overseas merchants, and John the Baptist of the wax-dealers). This completes the picture of Novgorod as a rich and densely populated town. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was in Novgorod that we find a system that later resulted in the emergence of an original state called "Lord Great Novgorod."

In the history of Rus culture, Novgorod holds a place equal to that of Kiev. It produced the comprehensive chroni-

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[1] See his *Excavations of Slavno in Novgorod; Раскопки восточной части Дворища в Новгороде (Excavations in the Eastern Section of the Dvorishche in Novgorod). Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 119-51, 152-76.
[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 21.

cles whose origins are traced back to the 11th century. The *Concise* and *Extensive* versions of *Russkaya Pravda* are also connected with Novgorod, for their earliest versions came from there. The bulk of ancient MSS. originated in Novgorod, for it preserved and multiplied the cultural riches of Ancient Rus. In the whole of its history it was devastated only once—by the Nazis during the Great Patriotic War.

Russian epic lore describes Novgorod as a most important cultural centre. The *bylinas* of the "Novgorod cycle" about Vasily Buslayev, the rich *gost* Sadko, etc., make up a part of the thesaurus of Rus folk literature.

Novgorod appears to have engulfed all the urban settlements over a territory with a 200-kilometre radius. Other towns of the Novgorod Land, with the exception of Pskov, never rose to great prosperity and independence. The other major centres in that land were Ladoga, Torzhok and Staraya Rusa.

Ladoga stood near the point where the Volkhov River flows into Lake Ladoga. In its vicinity ran the Syas and Tikhvinka rivers, whose upper reaches were very close to the Chagodoshcha River, a tributary of the Mo'oga. The ancient route from the shores of the Baltic to the upper reaches of the Volga lay roughly along the present-day Tikhvinka waterway and is marked by many barrows and burial grounds. Ladoga was the starting point of the route along the Svir and Kovzha to Beloozero, where the Ves tribe lived. In the 10th century that area was famous for its fur-bearing animals. In the earliest stages of Scandinavian trade with the east, Ladoga was unquestionably a more convenient centre than Novgorod. That is why the story that Ladoga was the place where Ryurik initially settled[1] may be an indication of its great importance in high antiquity as a point of departure for Scandinavian trade moving to the south and south-east.

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[1] "And he first came to the Slovenes and built the *gorod* of Ladoga, and the eldest Ryurik sat in Ladoga." (*Ipaty Annals*, p. 11.)

The fact that the Varangians took a particular view of Ladoga is revealed in the Scandinavian sagas which often mention Aldeigaborg. They say that Yaroslav the Wise gave Ladoga to Ingigerd (Irina), daughter of King Olaf, as her wedding present. She agreed to marry Yaroslav if she was given "Aldeigjuborg and the surrounding district as a wedding gift." When they were married she gave the fortress of Aldeigjuborg and the surrounding region to Rognvald.[1] The Scandinavian sagas describe Ladoga as a strongpoint of the Varangians who came from overseas.

Ravdonikas says that the barrows around Plakun near Ladoga differ in arrangement and ritual "from the common Ladoga tumuli with their cremation and are practically identical with the Swedish tumuli of that period, such as the tumuli near the town of Birka,"[2] although there is no doubt that the earliest population in Ladoga consisted of Eastern Slavs.

The antiquity of the settlement in the Ladoga area is proved by the finding of Arab coins dating from the 8th-9th centuries near the old Church of St. Georgy which stood in the fortress.

With the establishment of regular trade and political intercourse between Novgorod and the Rostov-Suzdal Land along the upper Volga, Ladoga declined sharply in importance, since shorter and safer routes to the east were inaugurated. None the less, Ladoga long remained a major town in the north of the Novgorod Land. Stone churches and a stone citadel were built in Ladoga in 1116,

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[1] Н. Е. Бранденбург, *Старая Ладога* (N. Y. Brandenburg, *Old Ladoga*), St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 7-14. See also article by Е. А. Рыдзевская, *Сведения о старой Ладоге в древнесеверной литературе* (Y. A. Rydzevskaya, *Reports about Old Ladoga in Ancient Northern Literature*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, pp. 51-65.
[2] В. И. Равдоникас, *Старая Ладога* (V. I. Ravdonikas, *Old Ladoga*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, pp. 30-41; also his *Древнейшая Ладога в свете археологических исследований 1938—1950 гг.* (*Earliest Ladoga in the Light of the Archaeological Studies of 1938-50*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLI, pp. 34-36.

the latter by the *posadnik* Pavel.[1] Its importance was due to the part played by its people in shaping the major political decisions which involved the Novgorod Land as a whole, although there are indications that Ladoga was dependent on Novgorod.

Ladoga was a stopping place for merchants as late as the 13th century when it had a Catholic church dedicated to St. Nicholas. This may have been where the counter for overseas merchants was located, as was the case in Novgorod. A draft of Novgorod's 13th-century treaty with Gottland reveals that the church was built much earlier because "as of old" it had the use of special meadows. It must have stood on the Varangian Street which is mentioned in the Ladoga court-rolls of 1500.[2] The records also reveal that Ladoga had a *posad* with several streets and churches. It is described in a 1164 report of the Swedish attack on Ladoga.[3]

Torzhok, or Novy Torg, another Novgorod suburb, got its name from the market-place, or fair, which arose on the Tvertsa on the way from Novgorod to the Volga. This was probably where Novgorod merchants met merchants from Vladimir-Suzdal Rus, and Torzhok remained such a trading centre even after the emergence of Tver. The route along the Msta and the Tvertsa, which in the 13th century terminated at Novgorod in the north-west and at Tver in the south-east, very soon grew in importance in comparison with the less convenient routes from Lake Ilmen to the upper reaches of the Volga. A Novgorod troop campaigned against Suzdal along the new route as early as 1147 and "returned via Novy Torg."

Torzhok's position proved to be highly advantageous because a number of small rivers connected it with Lake

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 20.

[2] N. Y. Brandenburg, *Old Ladoga*, pp. 50-51.

[3] "And the Sveya came to Ladoga and the people of Ladoga burnt their houses and locked themselves up in the *grad*." (*Novgorod Annals*, p. 31.) This clearly means that it was the *posad* they burnt.

Seliger, and so with the old Seliger route, on the one hand, and on the other, with the Medveditsa River. The name Torzhok is of later origin, and the earliest records still call it Novy Torg and its inhabitants Novytorzhtsy. Its convenient trading position is revealed in a chronicle report for 1196 which says that Yaroslav Vsevolodovich sat "in Torzhok in his volost, and levied tribute along the Verkh and the Msta, and beyond the Volok he took tribute."[1] However, in the period in question it was not as important a trading centre as it subsequently became.

Torzhok had a fortified citadel capable of withstanding a prolonged siege. A *posad* must have surrounded it.

The earth wall on the Borisoglebskaya Storona of the town gives an idea of its Kremlin. Later descriptions say that this wall was 6 *sazhens* high and some 150 *sazhens* long. On the east, the citadel stood close to the Tvertsa River. A later *Life of Yefrem of Novy Torzhok* says that Yefrem was allegedly a Hungarian and the brother of Georgy, a man-at-arms of Boris, who was killed on the Alta. Yefrem took the monastic vows and built the Boris and Gleb Monastery in Torzhok. He died in 1058. The legendary nature of his *Life* is proved by the fact that in 1058, when Yefrem had allegedly built a monastery in their honour, Boris and Gleb had not yet been canonized. That is why I think there is not sufficient ground to date the building of Torzhok to the first half of the 11th century, as some scholars do.[2]

Staraya Rusa (or Russa) was a big town in the Novgorod Land.

Its name has always intrigued scholars in connection with the origins of Rus. I am unable to explain it satis-

[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 27, 43.

[2] И. Красницкий, *Тверская старина. Очерки истории древностей и этнографии* (I. Krasnitsky, *Tver Antiquities. Essays on the History of Antiquities and Ethnography*), Issue 1. *Gorod Torzhok*, St. Petersburg, 1876. This paper is based on an earlier work by Илиодор, *Историческо-статистическое описание города Торжка* (Iliodor, *A Historical and Statistical Description of the Gorod of Torzhok*), Tver, 1860.

factorily and merely note that in ancient chronicles it was written with one "s" (Rusa). It first occurs in 1167[1] but must have existed long before that.

Staraya Rusa was a sizable settlement clustering around a citadel. Recent excavations yielded the remains of an ancient wall. A citadel was built there in 1199, and a stone Cathedral of the Transfiguration at its monastery the previous year.[2]

A closer look at its geographical position reveals that it was not very convenient from the commercial standpoint, for it stood at a distance from the Lovat and the Pola, on the bank of the Polist which emerges from the lake surrounded by swampy and wooded territory between the Velikaya and Lake Ilmen water systems. The southward route from Novgorod usually lay along the neighbouring Lovat and not the Polist. It seems that from the start it was not so much a commercial as an industrial centre, for it stood near salt beds which were worked since olden times.

Velikiye Luki was Novgorod's southernmost suburb. The chronicles usually call it Luki. The attribute "Velikiye" (Great) is an indication that it was a large settlement since it was applied very rarely and usually to such big towns as Novgorod and Rostov.

Its importance was due to the fact that it stood in the upper reaches of the Lovat and this made it a stopping place for merchants and the last Novgorod town on the way south. This is made clear in the first chronicle report of 1166 when Prince Rostislav arrived "from Kiev to Luki" and summoned the Novgorodians for a conference. Some 25 years later, a conference between the people of Polotsk and Novgorod was held near Luki, "on the border," which discussed a campaign against Lithuania and the Chud.

Other reports in the annals show that Velikiye Luki was

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, pp. 32, 43; in 1199 "they built a *gorod* at Rusa" (p. 45).
[2] Ibid., pp. 43, 45.

strategically situated, for the Novgorodians regarded it as a "bulwark" (*oplechye*) against Lithuania.

Like other Rus towns, Luki had a *gorod*—a citadel—surrounded by a *posad*. In one of their raids, the Lithuanian and Polotsk troops "burnt the houses, while the people of Luki hid and saved themselves in the *gorod*,"[1] an indication that the houses (*khoromy*) stood without the citadel.

Of Novgorod's suburbs, **Pskov** was the most important, for it was the centre of a vast territory from its very inception. Its lands were relatively fertile, particularly in comparison with those of neighbouring Novgorod, while their size appears to be small only in comparison with the vast territories of the rest of Rus. In Western Europe, the Pskov land would be a duchy the size of Flanders. Since economic and commercial importance is not determined by size but by the development of industry and exchange, the Pskov land should be regarded as having been of considerable importance in Ancient Rus. Suffice it to say that in the 14th-15th centuries, the Pskov area had more stone citadels than the whole of Muscovy.

Pskov's geographical situation conduced to its rise as a major commercial and industrial centre. It was linked with the Baltic through Lake Chudskoye and its tributaries. These lie near the Salis River which empties into the Gulf of Riga. That the Salis was an ancient route is proved by the discovery on Sarema Island of a silver coin minted under Yaroslav the Wise.[2] There was another very early route to the Gulf of Riga which lay along the two Aa rivers (Goiva) and led to the mouth of the Western Dvina. The overland (*gornaya*) winter route between Pskov and Riga became very important after the emergence of the latter. Judging by the story of the plunder of Rus merchants at Ungavnia in the land of the Estes, told in the

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[1] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 44.
[2] А. А. Ильин, *Топография кладов древних русских монет X-XI вв.* (A. A. Ilyin, *A Topography of the Caches of Ancient Rus Coins of the 10th-11th Centuries*), Leningrad, 1924, p. 13.

Livonian Chronicle, it must have led via Izborsk and Odenpe (Bear's Head).[1] Pskov's role in the trade with Riga and Estonia is recorded in numerous documents and requires no proof.

Pskov must have originated in high antiquity, although the legend of the invitation of the princes does not mention Pskov but Izborsk, which was ruled by the legendary Truvor. The chronicler felt the need for a historical analysis of its origin, and wrote: "And the annals do not remember from whom and by what men Pleskov *grad* was created."[2] On the strength of the records, the contemporary scholar is merely able to note that Pskov did exist in the 10th century. Legend has it that Princess Olga from Pskov became the wife of Igor.

Pskov's name is of ancient origin and is most probably an abbreviation of the Pleskov more commonly used at that time. There was a Pliskov, or Pliskova, in Danubian Bulgaria. It is for the linguists to judge what connection there is between the name Pleskov and the Russian word *plesk*. The word *pleskaniye* was used in ancient Russian to denote a pagan marriage ritual and games. It is used in that sense by Metropolitan Photius in his message to Pskov in the early 15th century. It should be added that a heathen sacrificial altar, dating from the 7th or 8th century, was discovered during excavations in the Pskov kremlin. Whether or not this is a coincidence remains to be seen.

Pskov's earliest section (Krom) stood on a high and narrow headland where the Pskova empties into the Velikaya. Subsequently, the town grew southwards on the territory between the two rivers,[3] although the other side of the Pskova (Zapskovye) was also settled at an early period. One is surprised at the small size of the Krom, which was enlarged only in the latter part of the 13th cen-

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[1] Heinrich of Latvia, *A Chronicle of Livonia*, p. 113.
[2] *Pskov Annals*, published by M. Pogodin, Moscow, 1837, p. 2.
[3] А. Никитский, *Очерк внутренней истории Пскова* (A. Nikitsky, *A Brief Domestic History of Pskov*), St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 82 et seq.

tury by a small territory enclosed by the stone Dovmontov wall. However, 12th-century reports describe Pskov as a big town. This suggests that Krom was merely its citadel beyond which lay the *posad* fortified by a rampart and moat as was the case in other Rus towns. As early as the 12th century, rich monasteries stood in Zavelichye, the territory on the western bank of the Velikaya.

The etymology of the word *krom* is obscure. The most plausible explanation is that it meant *kromstvo*—the inner part. Another Rus word *kroma* denoted a thick piece of bread. Dal says that *krom* meant a room where grain was kept against emergencies. The name of the *gorod*— Kromy—is a derivative of that root.

We get an idea of Pskov's population from the report that 600 of its men were killed in the unsuccessful battle at Izborsk.[1] Its importance is stressed by the fact that its people had attempted to secede from Novgorod as early as 1136-37, when it served as a place of refuge for the fugitive Novgorod Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich. There was a German counter in Pskov, and a Pskov counter later made its appearance in Novgorod.[2]

Its large-scale stone construction, almost equal to that of Novgorod, is clear proof that it was already a rich town in the 12th century. Among its stone buildings are the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Mirozhsky Monastery in Zavelichye, which was built and decorated with frescoes in 1156; and the 13th-century cathedral of St. John the Baptist, also in Zavelichye.[3]

It appears then that in the period in question, Pskov was a prominent Rus town and this explains why *veche* practices developed there at an early period. In the 14th-15th centuries, Pskov became a boyar republic which held sway over the entire Pskov land.

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[1] *Pskov Annals*, p. 13. The number includes warriors only.
[2] *PSRL*, Vol. IV, p. 103.
[3] *Istoria Russkogo iskusstva*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1954, Chap. II, "Pskov Art" (pp. 307-74).

Excavations in the town, mainly in Krom, have yielded an abundance of material on the history of Pskov between the 9th and 13th centuries.[1] They give an idea of early Pskov between the 8th and 10th centuries. Unfortunately, little light has been shed on its subsequent history, and I believe that excavations on the territory of the *posad* adjacent to Krom will set this right.

Izborsk was another early town of the Pskov land. It is mentioned in the annals among other towns of the 9th century, but its history is almost unknown.

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[1] See С. А. Тараканова, *Древности Псковской земли* (S. A. Tarakanova, *The Antiquities of the Pskov Land*), *Po sledam drevnikh kultur. Drevnyaya Rus*, pp. 187-216.

Chapter Eight

ROSTOV-SUZDAL LAND

An outstanding feature of the development of urban life in the Rostov-Suzdal Land was the fact that none of its towns was an undisputed centre. From high antiquity this distant land had two parallel centres—Rostov and Suzdal. In the 12th century they were joined by Vladimir. That is why the land is usually known by the dual name of Rostov-Suzdal or Vladimir-Suzdal Rus. The ancient records were ignorant of these artificial names and usually designated the territory between the Volga and the Oka as the Zalessk Land. I often use this simpler term because the towns which stood between the Oka and the Volga in the 13th-15th centuries were commonly called by that name.[1]

The reason why the Zalessk Land had no single centre, in contrast to such lands as the Novgorod, Smolensk and Polotsk, lay in the fact that it lacked a major point on which its water and overland routes converged. Neither Rostov, nor Suzdal, nor Vladimir, nor even Pereyaslavl

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[1] *Spisok Russkikh Gorodov* of the late 14th century names Kiev towns, Volyn towns, Lithuanian towns, Smolensk towns, Ryazan towns and *Zaleskii* towns (*Novgorod Annals*, pp. 475-77).
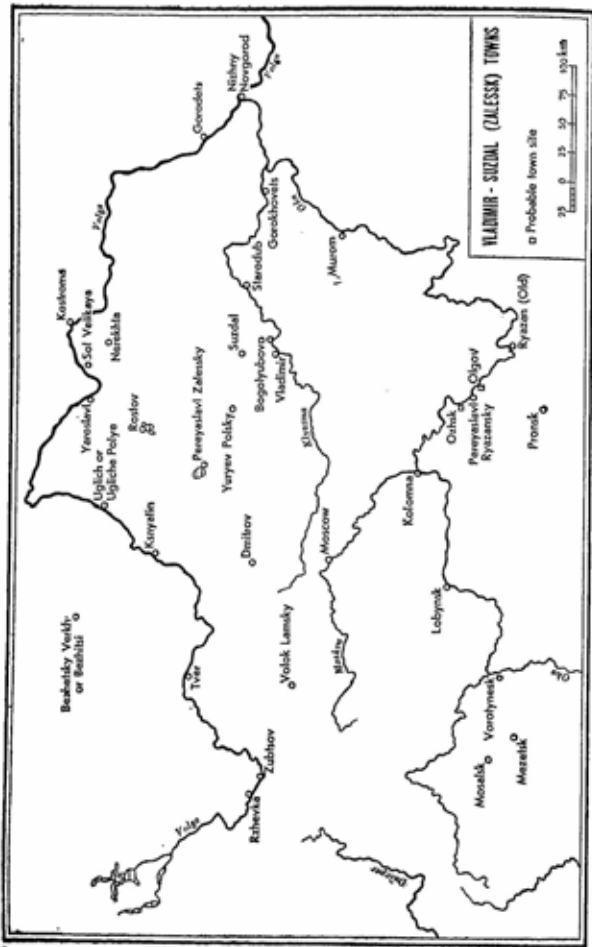
could boast of being situated on a world trade route as Novgorod and Kiev were. They remained local urban centres which rapidly declined with the changes in the political balance of forces. Most of the towns in the land arose as centres of their districts. Scholars have long since noted that the earliest towns of that land were built in the so-called *opolye*, a territory with semi-black soils surrounded by thick forests. An *opolye* surrounded Suzdal, Rostov and Pereyaslavl. Some of the towns, like Yuryev Polsky and Ugliche Polye derived their attributes *polsky* and *polye* from that fact. The peculiar nature of the *opolye* near Pereyaslavl leaps to the eye when the traveller approaches it from the south. After the vast stretches of forest in the basin of the Dubna and the Velya he finds himself in an extensive and fertile plain. The peasants of the swampy and forest Dmitrov district called the territory around Pereyaslavl "Ukraina" to denote its fertility. It was these *opolye* that gave rise to the ancient urban centres of the Zalessk Land.

Rostov, unquestionably one of the earliest Rus towns, according to the chronicle, was already in existence in the 9th century. "An old *gorod* stands there," says the chronicler about the Rostov of the late 12th century. It was situated on the shores of the vast Lake Nero suggestive of the tribal name of the Merya which, according to the chronicle, inhabited a great part of Zalessk Land in the 9th-10th centuries. There was an element of the Merya in Rostov's Slav population in later times as well. The *Life of Avraamy of Rostov* says that the town had a Chud End with a stone idol of Veles worshipped by the inhabitants.[1] Even if the *Life* is of later origin, I believe that its mention of the Chud End is no invention since there was no manifest need to invent it. The mention of the idol of Veles is suggestive of some kind of reminiscences. In the

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[1] Y. Golubinsky, *History of the Russian Church*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 763-75.

14th or 15th century, when the *Life of Avraamy* was written, memories of Veles, or Volos, the cattle god, must have been very hazy and the preservation of the ancient name must be due to oral tradition. The story in the annals about the soothsayer, who made his appearance in Rostov in 1024, is also an indication that survivals of the heathen faith in Rostov were still pronounced at the time.[1] The construction of St. Vlasy's Church (Ioann the Merciful) in the town recalls the worship of Veles in the Suzdal Land.

An episcopal cathedra was set up in Rostov in the 11th century. It ranked third among Rus bishoprics, and the long list of its numerous bishops included several prominent personalities. Rostov's topography was greatly altered as a result of reconstruction, particularly under Metropolitan Iona Sysoyevich in the 17th century, but the outlines of its original plan can still be seen.

Rostov's ancient kremlin must have occupied a greater area than the present one, because the Cathedral of the Assumption now stands beyond its limits, although the rule for such cathedrals was to be erected in the kremlin, in corroboration of which fact numerous instances can be cited (Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir, Pereyaslavl, etc.). In the early 13th century, the royal and episcopal courts were situated in the town.

The stone buildings in Rostov testify to its opulence. The cathedral in Rostov, according to the *Pechera Paterik*, was built under Vladimir Monomakh as an exact replica of the Great Church at the Pechera Monastery in Kiev: "A copy of the church was built in the town of Rostov, in height, as well as in width, and in length."[2] At the same time, the Rostov church was decorated with frescoes arranged after the fashion of the images on the walls of the Pechera temple. According to other reports, "the Holy

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 144.
[2] *Pechera Paterik*, p. 194.

Mother of God in Rostov of stone" was consecrated in 1162,[1] which, however, does not contradict the former report since churches were sanctified not only after they were built but also after fires and repairs.

The Rostov cathedral was razed in the fire of 1211, and that is when it probably collapsed. In 1213, "on the place where the old fallen church stood" a new cathedral was founded and stands to this day after numerous alterations and repairs. Another stone church was founded in Rostov in the royal court in 1214; the Church of St. John the Baptist in the bishop's court was also built of stone.[2]

At a very early date the town began to outgrow the confines of the inner citadel surrounded by the *posad*. An idea of the size of Great Rostov, as it is still called by the people, is gleaned from the report of the fire of 1211, when 15 churches were destroyed "and almost the entire town was razed." This is a far cry from the several hundred churches mentioned by the chronicler for Kiev, but the figure is none the less an indication that Rostov was a big town.

The several finds in Rostov show that it was a busy industrial and commercial centre and merits extensive archaeological study. Local craftsmen were responsible for the decoration of the cathedral church which was filled with "a great number of every kind of ornament."[3]

The chronicles often speak of Rostov *muzhi* and simply *Rostovtsy*. In the reports of the internecine strife in the Zalessk Land after the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky, the "Rostovtsy and boyars" are very often mentioned as two distinct social groups. This is made particularly clear by the chronicle report of the arrival of Prince Mstislav Rostislavich in Rostov, which says: "He gathered the Rostovtsy and the boyars...." The boyars are here treated as a separate group, while the Rostovtsy should be inter-

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol, XV, col. 234-35.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 416, 414.
[3] Ibid., p. 435

preted to mean the townsfolk. They are distinctly mentioned in the report of the arrival of Oleg Svyatoslavich.[1]

The growth of boyar landholdings in Rostov region was, in my opinion, due to the specific importance of agriculture in that fertile area. One of these boyar feudals was remembered in later Rostov in the figure of Alexander Popovich (a prototype of the legendary Alyosha Popovich) who fought for Rostov with his servant Torop. This bold warrior built himself a *gorod* "near Gremyachy Well on the Gda River, where that well stands empty to this day."[2]

In the Russian *bylinas*, Rostov has remained a synonym of opulence. Rostov letters of the 11th-13th centuries are made up mainly of local hagiographies.

Suzdal, the second oldest town of the Zalessk Land, occurs in the chronicle only in 1024, in connection with the uprising of the soothsayers. A similar uprising took place in the Rostov Land in 1071. In both cases, the soothsayers represented the pagan section of the people.

It is difficult to trace the Slav etymology of the word *Suzdal* except for the ending *-l*, which usually indicated the builder of a town, e.g., Yaroslavl, Rostislavl, Izyaslavl. Hence, Suzdal, or Suzhdal, meant the town of Suzda, or Suzhda. Still, its origin remains obscure.

Suzdal owed its growth to the fertile *opolye* in the centre of which it stood. The landscape of present-day Suzdal is very revealing. The traveller, approaching Suzdal, discovers a vast plain of cultivated fields sharply contrasted against the stretches of forest south of the Klyazma River.

Suzdal's kremlin was on a small river called the Kamenka, a tributary of the Nerl. The remains of a rampart and moat are evident to this day.

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 360, 229. ("And the townsfolk received Oleg.")
[2] *PSRL*, Vol. XV, col. 338.

A picture of ancient Suzdal's topography is given by Varganov, who has studied the cultural layers on its site. The thickest cultural layers were found where the old kremlin stood and in the adjacent *posad*, or *ostrog*, surrounded by old ramparts. Varganov has proved that a sizable settlement lay on the site of the former *ostrog*.[1] The earthen rampart surrounding the Suzdal kremlin was renovated on many occasions and stands to this day. It dates back to the 11th or 12th century. The citadel at Suzdal is mentioned as early as 1096, and was rebuilt in 1192.[2] I doubt that the report meant the mere construction of a new town wall made of wood. I believe that it meant an extension of the initial territory of Suzdal. An earthen rampart around the *ostrog*, which still stood in the 17th century, was adjacent to the inner citadel on the northeast and could have been built during the construction of the *gorod* in the late 12th century.[3]

The early records usually treat Suzdal as the second important centre of the Zalessk Land equal to Rostov. Rostov and Suzdal, the *rostovtsy* and *suzdaltsy* is a combination which constantly occurs in the chronicle reports before the Mongolian invasion. The bishops of the Zalessk Land were usually called bishops of Rostov and Suzdal. As a political centre, Suzdal enjoyed particular importance in the mid-12th century before the rise of neighbouring Vladimir.

Suzdal had several stone churches, the earliest of them being the Cathedral of the Nativity erected under Vladimir Monomakh.[4] In 1222, the stone cathedral in Suzdal began

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[1] А. Д. Варганов, *Из ранней истории Суздаля (IX-XIII вв)* (A. D. Varganov, *From Suzdal's Early History [IX-XIII]*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XII, pp. 127-134.

[2] "The *grad* of Suzdal was founded and built that same year." (*Lavrenty Annals*, p. 388.)

[3] *Suzdal i yego dostopamyatnosti*, published by the Vladimir Scientific Commission, Moscow, 1912, p. 12.

[4] "For it was a church built by his great grandfather Vladimir Monomakh and beatific bishop Yefrem." (*Lavrenty Annals*, p. 423.)

to fall apart, and when its top collapsed a new stone church was founded on its site and rebuilt in 1528. The o d white stone walls however remained to almost two-thirds of its height. One is impressed by the remains of a colonnaded temple decorated with ancient stone carvings.

The spade and the chronicles reveal Suzdal as a town with a population of craftsmen, among whom the stone-masons were particularly prominent.

An ancient furnace was discovered beyond the town limits at the foot of the hill of the former Alexander Monastery. Other finds include several fragments of thin square fired brick, or plinths, 3 or 4 cm. thick and 21 cm. long. Similar bricks were used on the Suzdal cathedral in the early 13th century. A craftsman's hut excavated in the Suzdal kremlin yielded slab-like bricks, glazed floor tiles, etc.

Judging by its remains, the original cathedral of Vla-dimir Monomakh was the work of Kiev craftsmen. It stood less than 50 years and was replaced in 1148 by a stone cathedral, built on another principle.[1] This second building stood less than a century, and in 1222 the Suzdal cathedral collapsed through "old age and disrepair."

This episode sheds light on the initial stages of stone construction in the Vladimir-Suzdal Land when the craftsmen were in search of new building methods but were still incapable of applying them to big buildings. The reconstruction of the cathedral from 1222 to 1225 revealed that their skill had grown and that they had made good use of the remains of the 1148 cathedral.

The development of the building industry in Suzdal is also indicated in the chronicle for 1233 which describes the paving of the cathedral floor with beautiful variegated marble.[2] "Fragments of these decorations in the form of

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[1] А. Д. Варганов, *К архитектурной истории суздальского собора* (A. D. Varganov, *Concerning the Architectural History of the Suzdal Cathedral*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, pp. 99-106.
[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 437

majolica slabs (yellow, green, dark red and black) were discovered in the excavations. Some of them bore the marks of the workmen on their reverse side."[1]

By the end of the 12th century, construction skills were on such a level that under Bishop Ioann local artisans were able to carry out capital repairs on the Cathedral of the Nativity. "And it was covered with tin... and it was like a mirac'e that, by the intercession of the Holy Mother of God and his faith, he did not seek craftsmen among the Germans, but found craftsmen among the servants of the Holy Mother of God and his own, some to pour tin, others to roof, yet others to whitewash."

This miraculous fact that the Germans were not solicited for craftsmen caused a veritable storm among scholars some of whom regarded this as proof that the Russians were unable to build and decorate stone buildings. But what we have here is a typical literary turn to enhance the importance of the action taken by Bishop Ioann used by one of the clerics.[2] The mention of the Germans is easily explained as a taunt of a Suzdal clergyman against neighbouring Vladimir where German craftsmen took part in construction work. Naturally, it was no miracle at all that the bishop discovered craftsmen among his indentured men ("from among the servants of the Holy Mother of God") who knew how to pour tin, whitewash and mend stone vaults, i.e., tinsmiths, painters and stonemasons. The mention of the servants of the cathedral and the bishop is an indication that there were neighbourhoods in Suzdal inhabited by craftsmen who were indentured to the cathedral clergy and the bishop.

The working of metal was just as developed as the art of building. A hut excavated in the Suzdal kremlin yielded pieces of copper and iron slag; another—an iron ball; a third—"several metal articles of unknown purpose, two

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[1] *Varganov, Concerning the Architectural History of the Suzdal Cathedral*, p. 104.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 390-91.

knives, three pieces of iron and copper slag."[1] The western and southern gates of the Suzdal cathedral are a remarkable example of Ancient Rus art, and testify to the skill of the Suzdal artisans. The double-panelled doors are bound on the inside with copper sheeting forming 28 plates on each door decorated with drawings done in gold cut. On the strength of the themes of the drawings— the miracles of Archangel Mikhail—the doors were popularly ascribed to Mikhail Khorobrit, who was killed in a battle with the Lithuanians in 1248.[2] But this appears to be a far-fetched conclusion because Prince Mikhail Khorobrit makes his appearance on the political arena only after the Tatar pogroms at a time when sumptuous presents to temples standing amid devastation were unthinkable. Besides, Mikhail was barely 17 when the Tatars came.[3]

However, the images on the doors give an idea of the period in which they were fashioned. The central bead moulding on the western gates bears miniature portraits of Saints Fyodor, Ioann, Mitrofan, Dimitrios and others. Fyodor was the baptismal name of Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, Ioann that of his nephew Vsevolod Konstantinovich, Dmitry that of Vladimir Konstantinovich; Mitrofan was the name of the bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal between 1227 and 1237. This decoration of the gates may have been connected with Yaroslav's reconciliation with Yuri in 1229. A royal congress (snem) was held in Suzdal on the Nativity, the cathedral feast, in which Bishop Mitrofan took an active part. It was then that Yaroslav won over to his side the three sons of his elder brother Konstantin: Vasilko, Vsevolod and Vladimir.[4] The patron saints of the latter

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[1] А. Ф. Дубынин, *Археологические исследования г. Суздаля* (A. F. Dubynin, *Archaeological Studies of Suzdal*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, pp. 91-99.

[2] I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities in Art Memorials*, Issue VI, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 72.

[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 446; his elder brother Alexander was born not earlier than 1218-20, more probably in 1220; his senior brother was Fyodor who was born in 1219 and died at an early age.

[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 429.

two and of Yaroslav himself as well as the patron saint of Bishop Mitrofan, their mediator, are pictured on the gates.

The fact that the artisans who fashioned the gates paid particular attention to Mikhail the Archangel does not upset my chronology. He was held in particular reverence by Yaroslav whose helmet bore the following inscription: "Great Archistrategist of the Lord, Mikhail, help thy servant Fyodor."

Thus, the gates are probably the work of Suzdal craftsmen ordered by the princes between 1227 and 1237. This enlarges our picture of the servants of the Mother of God who worked tin and roofed, and the stonemasons who laid the marble floors. Suzdal appears as a major industrial centre of Zalessk Rus, "the strong Suzdal Land," which still abounds in remarkable memorials of Rus art.[1]

Remains of Suzdal letters have been preserved in the *Lavrenty* and other chronicles. Suzdal is also frequently mentioned in Russian *bylinas*.

Vladimir, the third centre of the Zalessk Land, began to develop only in the 12th century. Some of the chronicles date its emergence to 991. According to the *Suprasl Chronicle*, when Vladimir Svyatoslavich was on his way to the Slovene land, he "built a *gorod* on the Klyazma River which he called Vladimir after his own name, the old town, and erected a wooden church to the Holy Mother of God, and surrounded it by a rampart, and built churches, and baptized people and appointed vice-gerents." Several other chronicles give slightly different versions of the event.[2] In other words, the report says that Vladimir built the old town surrounded by a wall (*sop*) within which stood a wooden church dedicated to the

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[1] Y. S. Medvedeva arrived at a similar date for the Suzdal gates in her article: *The Date of the Gates of the Suzdal Cathedral* (*Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XI, pp. 106-11). I must add that she does not connect the emergence of the gates with the 1229 congress.

[2] *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, col. 1. In 991, Vladimir went to the Suzdal Land and "built a *grad* in his name Vladimir." (*PSRL*, Vol. VII, p. 313.)

Mother of God. But this report may be questioned because other chronicles ascribe the building of the *gorod* to Vladimir Monomakh. They say that Vladimir erected the first Church of the Saviour "50 years before the stone Church of the Assumption," which was built by Andrei Bogolyubsky in 1158. Consequently, Vladimir Monomakh founded the town around 1108.

This latter version is supported by the fact that the chronicler's account of the campaign launched by Prince Oleg from Murom against Suzdal makes no mention of Vladimir although the road between the two towns passes through Vladimir.[1]

Voronin believes that a sizable settlement of craftsmen and merchants existed on the site of the future town "in the 9th-10th centuries—long before Monomakh's time— and it apparently occupied the eastern lowlying part of the high bank." He thinks that Monomakh built the royal town on the neighbouring heights between 1098 and 1108. Unfortunately, the author does not explain what he means by his "settlement of craftsmen and merchants" which was apparently unfortified. I am not aware of the existence of any such settlements in the 11th-13th centuries because unfortified settlements made their appearance only in the 14th-15th centuries. I think it best therefore to accept the late 11th and early 12th century as the date when Vladimir emerged, leaving aside the question of its industrial and commercial precursor.[2]

The town arose as a princely citadel on the Klyazma. Its site was somewhat unusual for a commercial centre,

[1] А. Бунин, *О времени основания города Владимира на Клязьме* (A. Bunin, *Concerning the Date of the Founding of Vladimir-on-Klyazma*), *Arkheologicheskiye izvestia i zametki izdavayemiye Moskovskim arkheologicheskim obshchestvom*, Nos. 5-6, 1898, pp. 179-89.

[2] Н.Н. Воронин, *Социальная топография Владимира XII-XIII веков и "чертежи" 1715 г.* (N. N. Voronin, *Vladimir's Social Topography in the 12th-13th Centuries and the "Charts" of 1715*), *Sovetskaya arkheologia*, № VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, p. 166.

for it would have been more conveniently placed at the point where the Nerl empties into the Klyazma and where Andrei Bogolyubsky later founded Bogolyubovo, his country seat. It should be noted that the water route from Vladimir to Ryazan, so clearly traced on the maps of present-day Vladimir territory, could not have been of great importance to the new town. The direct route from Ryazan to Vladimir was not used even in the 13th century, travellers preferring the circuitous but more convenient way along the Klyazma, the Moskva and the Oka rivers.

The Klyazma was an important artery leading to the West. But it became popular very late (only in the 12th century) when Zalessk Land expanded its trade both with the West and the East. This led to frequenter campaigns by the Vladimir princes against the Great City, i.e., the Great Bulgar. The fact that Bulgaria traded on an international scale is indicated by the report of the murder in Bulgaria of a certain Avraamy who refused to renounce Christianity.[1] The fact that Avraamy's remains were carried to Vladimir where he was venerated proves that he was of kindred faith with the Russians, probably a Georgian or an Armenian, for the Zalessk Land carried on rather lively intercourse with the Transcaucasus in the 12th century. It will be recalled that Andrei Bogolyubsky's son married Thamara, a Georgian queen.

In the mid-12th century, the Zalessk Land began to develop its trade with the West, first and foremost with Smolensk. This is indicated by the arrival in Vladimir in 1206 of the Bishop of Smolensk.[2] The Klyazma and the Moskva were gradually becoming busy arteries and offered the shortest route between Smolensk in the West and the Great Bulgars in the East. The *Lamentation of Kuzmishche, the Kievite* over the body of Andrei Bogolyubsky bears witness to the fact that the town of Vladimir

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 430. Avraamy traded in various towns.
[2] Ibid., p. 404.

was famous in the East as well as the West. Among the numerous nationalities who came to trade in Vladimir Zalessky were Greeks, Russians, Latins (i.e., Catholics), Kama Bulgars and Jews.[1]

Vladimir flourished in the second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th, when it became the seat of powerful princes—Andrei Bogolyubsky and Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo. The people of Vladimir supported the princes in their struggle against pretenders from the "old" towns—Rostov and Suzdal.

The establishment of a permanent royal residence in Vladimir greatly stimulated its development. The prince was accompanied by his numerous men-at-arms who were the main consumers of arms and luxuries. The constant intercourse between the craftsmen and the royal court is particularly evident from the account of the uprising in Bogo'yubovo after the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky.

The 12th-century chronicles tell us that its population included chiefly craftsmen and merchants.

Even the local chronicler admitted that his compatriots were "small Volodimirians," "new" people, i.e., the juniors of the Rostovians. "These are our *kho'op* stonemasons," was how the people of Rostov and Suzdal styled the Volodimirians.[2] This reveals one of the main occupations of the people of that town—building in stone. No wonder it was so well developed in Vladimir itself. The Cathedral of the Assumption and the Dmitry Cathedral in Vladimir, the cathedral in Bogolyubovo and the remarkable Church of the Protection of Our Lady on the Nerl, the famous "apses" of the cathedrals in Vladimir and Yuryev Polsky, demanded high skill of the builders and stone-hewers. The chronicles

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[1] *Ipaty Annals*, pp. 400-01. The word "Latin" used in this case probably denotes an Italian (a Venetian or a Genoese) who had colonies in Constantinople and the towns of the Crimea. But the Latin could just as well have been a German. Curiously enough, the chronicler denotes the merchants by their creeds (Catholics, Moslems, Jews) rather than by their nationalities.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 355.

mention several stone churches in the Zalessk Land built between the 11th and 13th centuries. But many more stone churches were built before the Mongolian invasion than the chronicle records account for, and this kept up the demand for stonemasons and stone-hewers.

Many craftsmen were engaged in the interior decoration of churches and civic buildings. Glazed tiles dating from the 12th-13th centuries were discovered during excavations in Vladimir. Some of them were used on floors, others on cornices and walls. Alexandrovsky, who studied such tiles from a church in the Vladimir *detinets*, suggests that they were fired in a Russian-type furnace, but not in one place, and adds that more than five men must have taken part in making them.

From this he infers the following: "Since the tiles were made by different persons and under different conditions, it appears that they were manufactured at home, in the family, the tiles being fired in a Russian furnace." This suggests that a number of Vladimir families produced custom-made glazed tiles. A great number of tiles—up to 3,460—were used in surfacing the floors of the church which stood above the gates. They were ordered from different craftsmen who made different products, some of them of low quality "skilfully covered with a smooth glaze."[1]

The craftsmen were a prominent section of the Vladimir population but its leaders were the boyars and merchants. It cannot be fortuitous that the *Lavrenty Annals* mention merchants only twice and both times as part of Vladimir's population. In 1177, "the boyars and merchants" demanded the execution of the imprisoned Rostislavichi princes; in 1206, the boyars and merchants organized a sending-off ceremony for Prince Konstantin who was leaving for Novgorod.[2] We find then that in contrast to Suzdal

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[1] В. А. Александровский, *Поливные половые плитки из раскопок Детинца во Владимире* (V. A. Alexandrovsky, *Glazed Floor Tiles from the Excavations of the Vladimir Detinets*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 239-43.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 365, 401.

and Rostov trade together with the crafts was highly developed in Vladimir.

Vladimir's site is very similar to that of Kiev. It stands on the high northern bank of the Klyazma, which twists and turns between sandy banks. There is a forest in the distance on the southern bank. The hills fall away sharply towards the riverside, presenting impregnable positions where the first citadel stood surrounded by deep ravines.

Andrei Bogolyubsky was dissatisfied with the weak fortifications when he made Vladimir his throne town. He began to build the Cathedral of the Assumption and "founded a large *gorod*."[1] We get an idea of the size of Vladimir in Andrei Bogolyubsky's time from the fact that its territory stretched to the Golden Gates built in 1164. The territory enclosed by the ramparts was greater than that of other contemporary citadels. Thirty-two churches, "nearly the whole town," were affected by the great fire of 1185.[2]

Vladimir was built up rapidly under Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo, particularly after the great fire of 1193. The following year Vsevolod founded (*zalozhi*) a *detinets*.[3] The fact that the chronicler uses the word *zalozhi* instead of *srublen* may mean that the walls were built of stone. Voronin's excavations have proved that the wall of the *detinets* was made of stone, and was from 1 to 1.7 metres thick. It also had a stone gate.[4]

Students of Vladimir antiquities agree that "the hill on which the cathedral and the royal court stood was surrounded by stone walls and served not only as a separate

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 330-31.
[2] Ibid., p. 372. In the fire of 1193 "half the town was razed" together with 14 churches (p. 389).
[3] Ibid., p. 390.
[4] N.N. Voronin, *Fortifications in the 12th Century Vladimir, Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 215-23.

centre but also as a new inner fort which was called Pech-
erny Gorod (subsequently the kremlin)."[1]

In the *detinets* stood the Cathedral of the Assumption
and near that the bishop's mansion (*vladychniye seni*). At
a distance there was the "great royal court"[2] with its
magnificent Cathedral of Dmitry Selunsky. The latter was
a royal temple and was connected with the court by gal-
leries, whose remains were still evident in the 19th cen-
tury. Special mention is made of the court of Konstantin
Vsevolodovich, whose Church of St. Mikhail was burnt to
the ground in 1227 among the other 27 churches in the
town.[3]

A comprehensive picture of Vladimir is given by a
group of students of local antiquities, who say:

"In the early 13th century we find Vladimir a densely
populated town, well built up and strongly fortified by a
double line of fortifications, the first of which girdled the
inner, or Pecherny, Gorod, forming a sturdy *detinets* on
the hill, while the others encompassed the new *gorod* (sub-
sequently called Zemlyanoi), which almost encircled the
former on the west. The new *gorod* sprawled to the west of
the *detinets* and surrounded it on three sides. The *posad*,
Vladimir's third section in the east, was not mentioned in
the chronicle and was probably later integrated with the
town proper.[4] Vladimir's natural surroundings pushed the
posad to the highland part of the town. Its *podol*, lowlying
quarter, descended to the Klyazma, while a Church of the
Exaltation of the Holy Cross is mentioned as having stood
in the market-place.[5]

Vladimir Zalessky played an important part in the
development of Russian culture. It is connected with

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[1] *Sputnik po drevnemu Vladimiru i gorodam Vladimirskoi gubernii*,
Vladimir, 1913, p. 23. (Hereafter quoted as *Sputnik po Vladimiru*.)
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 426.
[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 427.
[4] *Sputnik po Vladimiru*, pp. 23-24
[5] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 419.

the compilation of 12th-13th-century annals as well as early hagiographies. The town is often mentioned in epic lore.

Three towns of the Zalessk Land are mentioned for the first time in the 12th century. They are Moscow, Dmitrov and Yuryev. Legend has it that they were all built by Yuri Dolgoruky.

Some of the finds in Moscow prove that it was settled at an early date. Two massive neck *grivnas* made of twisted silver and two seven-plate pendants were discovered in 1847 during the construction of the Armoury. Dirhems dating from the 9th century were found on the site of the Church of the Saviour at the mouth of the Chertory Stream as well as near Simon's Monastery.

Moscow is first mentioned in April 1147 as the meeting place of Yuri Dolgoruky and the Chernigov Prince Svyatoslav Olegovich. It is not known whether it was a *gorod*, a royal estate or a manor. The *Tver Annals* report in 1156 that "Grand Prince Yuri Vladimirovich founded the *gorod* of Moscow at the mouth of the Neglinnaya, above the Yauza River." This report is often questioned as being of later origin, but does not in substance arouse particular suspicion, for the information that a *gorod* was built in Moscow and the approximate date of its founding could have been remembered or recorded although the chronology may not be precise.

The story of Moscow's beginnings mentions the manors on its site belonging to boyar Kuchka who was killed by Yuri Dolgoruky. This story connected Moscow with its other name—Kuchkovo. Consequently, the legend which reached us in a 17th-century record has a measure of truth in it. Besides, the young men of the Kuchkov family have gone down in history as Andrei Bogolyubsky's assassins. The latter fact is explained by Yuri Dolgoruky's action against their father, the wealthy boyar Kuchka. The question is whether Kuchkovo was a village or a *go-*

rod. Legends of the 16th-17th centuries say nothing of the *gorod* but only describe the "beautiful manors of boyar Kuchka."[1]

Rabinovich, who made excavations in Zaryadye, an ancient Moscow quarter at the foot of Kitai-Gorod Hill, has arrived at highly interesting conclusions. He says that Moscow had a *posad* as early as the 10th-11th centuries. "We managed to determine the outlines of a *posad* which stretched in a narrow strip along the bank of the river." It had a developed metal-working industry, jewellery, tanning and bootmaking industries, and had extensive trade ties reaching as far as Germany in the West, and Central Asia and Armenia in the East. But the author has allowed himself a few arbitrary conclusions. Does the discovery of dirhems in a place prove it to be necessarily connected with Central Asia? These may have been traces of trade in the upper reaches of the Volga. The dirhems may have arrived in Moscow by a long and devious route. The same applies to a seal which Rabinovich dates to the late 11th century in spite of the fact that the writing on it has not been deciphered. It is very doubtful that in the late 11th century a cargo of goods with that seal was shipped directly from, say, Köln to Moscow.[2] Another surprising fact is that Rabinovich dates all his finds in Moscow to the 10th-11th centuries. Only a bootmaker's shop is dated to the 12th century, and there seem to be no finds at all dating from the 13th century. It transpires that Moscow was much richer in the 10th-11th centuries and that some kind of inexplicable regress had set in in the 12th-13th centuries. I think that the dating of the archaeological finds will have to be checked.

Rabinovich has done much to study ancient Moscow, but I think he was wrong in divorcing the *posad* from the

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[1] *Istoria Moskvy*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1952, Chapter One.
[2] М. Г. Рабинович, *Раскопки в Москве в 1950 году* (M. G. Rabinovich, *Excavations in Moscow in 1950*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 116-24.

town, for a *posad* was merely a part of a town inhabited by craftsmen and merchants, and in the 12th century, it could not have existed without the *gorod*, the citadel. The chronicles and legends are unanimous in indicating Yuri Dolgoruky as the founder of Moscow although this does not at all imply that there were no settlements or fortified hamlets around Moscow before him.

None the less, the excavations in Zaryadye shed new light on the history of Moscow. But the "industrial *posad* with its developed metal-working, jewellery, tanning and bootmaking industries," should be dated to the 12th-13th centuries. The chronicle report of the Mongolian devastation of the town in 1237 describes it as rich and flourishing.[1] At all events, the discoveries made by Rabinovich call for a revision of the idea that Moscow was a shabby Rus town.

In the early 13th century, Moscow became a separate appanage vied for by the senior princes. In 1214, the annals mention the "Muscovites" as a group apart from the royal men-at-arms, while the story of the Tatar invasion in 1237 describes Moscow as a big and densely populated town. The Tatars "set fire to the *grad* and the holy churches and burnt the monasteries and the manors and, after taking much property, left."[2] However, even during the time of Daniil, the founder of the Moscow royal house, its kremlin occupied only a corner of the present-day Kremlin, while the *posad*, called Podol, stretched on in a narrow strip under the Kremlin into what was later known as Zaryadye.

Dmitrov occurs in the annals almost simultaneously with Moscow. "In the year 6662 (1154), Yuri had a son Dmitry," says the chronicle, "he was then on the Yakhroma River with his princess and founded a *grad* in honour of his son and called it Dmitrov, while his son he

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[1] See my *Древняя Москва* (*Ancient Moscow*), Moscow, 1947.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 438.

called Vsevolod."[1] This report is of later origin, but appears to be plausible.

Dmitrov stood on the Yakhroma River where it takes a sharp bend to the west. At one time, it was a convenient water route of considerable importance. Dmitrov was the starting point of a route that led along the river to the upper reaches of the Volga. The new town commanded the north-western approaches of the Zalessk Land, for it stood near Moscow, the starting point of the direct route to Vladimir along the Klyazma. Thus, the simultaneous appearance of two citadels—Moscow and Dmitrov—was the result of the building efforts of Yuri Dolgoruky who was intent on fortifying the north-western frontiers of the Zalessk Land.

Dmitrov's strategic position is revealed in an account of the war between Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich and Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo in 1180. Advancing northwards from the Chernigov Land, Svyatoslav joined the Novgorodians and entered the Suzdal Land. The two armies met on the Vlena River where they encamped on opposite banks for two weeks and engaged in sporadic clashes. "For that river," say *Ipaty Annals*, "was rapid and had steep banks. The Suzdalians stood on the hills, in the ravines and the hollows."[2] Anticipating the bad roads in the spring, Svyatoslav turned back and on his way burned "the town of Dmitrov."

In order to understand the events described above, two geographic points mentioned in the annals should be borne in mind—the Vlena River and the town of Dmitrov. This Vlena can be no other than the Velya River, a tributary of the Dubna, which flows some 25 kilometres from Dmitrov. The meeting of the Novgorod and Chernigov armies must have taken place on the Upper Volga. Thence the joint forces of Svyatoslav and the Novgorodians proceeded to

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol. XXV, p. 58, or Vol. IX, pp. 198-99.
[2] *Ipaty Annals*, p. 418.

the Suzdal Land up the Dubna, which led into the heart
of the Zalessk Land—to Pereyaslavl and Yuryev. The
Suzdal troops lay in wait for them near the point where
the Velya empties into the Dubna. The Velya does have steep
banks and its eastern bank is a row of hills cut by ravines.
It was there the Suzdal army stood in the "ravines and
hollows." The inhabitants of the surrounding villages re-
member some kind of battle which took place on the Velya
although it well may have been during the French invasion
of 1812. It was not along the Dubna (for it was winter)
but along the road to Dmitrov that Svyatoslav retreated
to the Volga. It is clear, therefore, that Dmitrov com-
manded the western approaches of the Zalessk Land.

Dmitrov's citadel is strangely situated. It occupies a
small hill surrounded by a stout rampart at a distance
from the Yakhroma. Its approaches were protected by
swampy meadows north and west of the rampart. A small
stream, the Staraya Yakhroma, which in early times, par-
ticularly during the spring floods, was navigable by small
craft, flows almost under the ramparts. South-west of the
citadel between the rampart and the stream there was a
market. Nearby was a Pyatnitsa Church which was usu-
ally erected in market squares.

A 1214 report already mentions the *predgradya*, suburbs,
which were burnt down by the people when Dmitrov was
attacked by Muscovites led by Vladimir Vsevolodovich.[1]
At that time, Dmitrov belonged to Prince Yaroslav Vse-
volodovich of Pereyaslavl. In the clash between the Mus-
covites and the Dmitrovians, the odds were in favour of
the latter, but the towns still seemed to have been of equal
strength.

The construction of Yuryev is also connected in the
legends with the activities of Yuri Dolgoruky, who in 1152

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[1] "The Dmitrovians, hearing that Vladimir was approaching, them-
selves burnt down all the *predgradya* and shut themselves in. Vladimir,
upon his arrival, could do nothing to them, for the Dmitrovians fought
valiantly in the *gorod*." (*Letopisets Pereyaslavlya Suzdalskogo*, p. 112.)

"founded the *gorod* of Yuryev called Polsky." The above date is naturally approximate but the facts appear to be authentic. The *Lavrenty Annals* tell us that Yuryev had a stone church, destroyed by Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, "which was built by his grandfather Yuri Vladimirovich."[1]

Yuryev stood in the centre of the Zalessk Land. Its "Yuryevskoye *polye*" was a great battle-field in the internecine wars. In 1177, a battle was fought on the Koloksha River at the foot of Pruskovaya Hill. S. Sheremetev says that the manor of Stavrovo on the Koloksha River was 27 versts from Yuryev along the old road to Vladimir.[2]

A more famous battle was fought near Yuryev in 1216 in the field between the Yuryeva and Avdova hills "where the manor of Chislovskiye Gorodishchi still stands with traces of ancient earthen ramparts."[3] The battle on the Lipitsa River was one of the biggest battles in the pre-Mongolian period.

Yuryev flourished for no more than half a century. But even at that time it was not a much-coveted appanage. During a division of the Zalessk Land after the death of Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo, the town fell to his third son Vladimir who "did not wish to go and rule in Yuryev" and fled to Volok, and thence to Moscow where he was installed as prince, naturally, not without the consent of the Muscovites.[4] Later, Svyatoslav, Vsevolod's fourth son, became prince of Yuryev. In 1230-34, he built the famous Yuri Cathedral which was decorated with stone carvings.

Yuryev was built on the bank of the Koloksha "in a swampy lowland surrounded by hills" where the Gza River joins the Koloksha.[5] The town stood in a hollow and,

[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 433.
[2] *Yuryev Polsky i Romanovskiye votchiny Smerdovo i Kliny*, pp. 32-33.
[3] *Sputnik po Vladimiru*, p. 362.
[4] *Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, p. 111.
[5] *Sputnik po Vladimiru*, p. 361.

as a citadel, resembled neighbouring Dmitrov which was founded almost at the same time.

It was called Polsky after the surrounding *opolye*, an undulating plain cleared of forest. Its soil was considered to be the most fertile in the former Vladimir Province.

Pereyaslavl, which is usually called Pereyaslavl Zalessky, emerged later than the other big towns of that land. The area around Pereyaslavl, or Kleshchino, Lake was settled from early times. The opening pages of the chronicle say that the area around Lake Kleshchino was inhabited by the Merya tribe: "And the Merya also live on Kleshchino Lake."

It derived its name from an ancient settlement—the town of Kleshchin—mentioned in a list of Rus towns of the late 14th and early 15th century. The name appears to be of Slav origin. The town probably stood on the high eastern shore of the lake at a point surrounded by a rampart near the present-day village of Gorodishche. "Its rather sturdy fortifications, 500 metres in circumference, still stand in the form of dilapidated walls with four gaps where the gates had once been."[1] The town stood on the shores of Lake Pereyaslavl from the earliest times.

The conditions for the development of urban life were similar to those prevailing in the Rostov area. The lake abounded in fish of which Pereyaslavl herring was particularly valuable. The fertile soil of the Pereyaslavl *opolye* was conducive to agriculture. The Nerl River which empties into the Volga must have been of some commercial importance.

Earliest Pereyaslavl, or Kleshchin, was probably not an important town, otherwise the annalist would have mentioned it when he wrote of the lake of that name. The town began to grow under Yuri Dolgoruky, who in 1152 "transferred the *gorod* of Pereyaslavl from Kleshchin, and built

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[1] Н. Н. Воронин, *Переяславль Залесскій* (N. N. Voronin, *Pereyaslavl Zalessky*), Moscow, 1948, p. 6.

it greater than the old one, and erected in it a stone church to the Holy Saviour."[1]

The new town was named Pereyaslavl in honour of the southern Pereyaslavl, which Yuri Dolgoruky knew very well. The small stream which flows into the lake where the town stood was named Trubezh, because Pereyaslavl in the south also stood on the Trubezh. The towns of Southern Rus served as prototypes for the princely towns of Zalessk Rus.

The new town was often called Pereyaslavl Novy. In 1195 it was "founded" anew and surrounded by wooden walls.[2] Remains of the old rampart, which was repeatedly repaired, and traces of a moat are still visible. Voronin's excavations have proved that the *gorod* and the cathedral in Pereyaslavl were "built in a deserted and uninhabited place."[3] Its walls were 2.5 kilometres long—much longer than the ramparts in Dmitrov, Yuryev and Moscow.

Pereyaslavl's site was very similar to that of Dmitrov, for like the latter it was protected by high walls and a surrounding swamp.

In the 12th century, Pereyaslavl became prominent among the towns of the Zalessk Land. The fact that it had a Cathedral of the Transfiguration, which was started under Yuri Dolgoruky in 1152 and completed under Andrei Bogolyubsky, is an indication that the princes had an eye on that town. One of the relics dating back to the early years of Pereyaslavl's existence is the famous chalice fashioned by Rus craftsmen in the 12th century with an image of St. Georgy, Yuri Dolgoruky's patron saint.[4]

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[1] *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 197.

[2] *Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, p. 73 for 1157. "That same year Grand Prince Vsevolod founded the *gorod* of Pereyaslavl in the month of July, the 29th day. It was built the same year." (Ibid., p. 102.)

[3] Н. Н. Воронин, *Раскопки в Переяславле Залесском* (N. N. Voronin, *Excavations in Pereyaslavl Zalessky*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, p. 196).

[4] А. Орешников, *Заметка о потире переяславль-залесского собора* (A. Oreshnikov, *Note on the Chalice of Pereyaslavl Zalessky Cathedral*), *Arkheologicheskiye izvestia i zametki izdavayemiye Moskovskim arkheologicheskim obshchestvom*, Fifth Year, No. 11, Moscow, 1897, pp. 337-45.

Pereyaslavl first appears as a major urban centre in the internecine war which followed the assassination of Andrei Bogolyubsky. "The Vladimirians were of one mind with the Pereyaslavlians,"[1] is the comment a Pereyaslavl annalist makes on the events of that period. This alliance is an indication of the united front presented by the new towns in their struggle against the ancient centres. The people of the two towns always acted together. It should be noted, however, that the *Lavrenty Annals* speak throughout only of the "Vladimirians," but the Pereyaslavl chronicler adds: "and the Pereyaslavlians." In the events of the late 12th century, Pereyaslavl clearly ranked fourth among the towns of Zalessk Rus. Before his death, Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo gave Rostov to his eldest son Konstantin, Vladimir to his second son Yuri, and Pereyaslavl to Yaroslav, his third son.

Pereyaslavl flourished markedly, though briefly, under Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, a strong prince who made it his throne town. The extent of its trade is seen from a report about Yaroslav's persecution of the Novgorod and Smolensk merchants in 1216 "who came to trade in his land." One hundred and fifty Novgorod and 15 Smolensk merchants were killed.

Yaroslavl made its appearance almost simultaneously with Pereyaslavl. It was founded at a point where the Kotorosl River empties into the Volga. We are not aware of the exact date of its founding, but its name indicates that this took place during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. It was most probably founded between 1026 and 1036, when Yaroslav was reported to have toured Rostov region.[2] But it may have been founded much earlier. The annals say that Yaroslav initially ruled in Rostov and moved to Novgorod only after the death of his elder

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[1] *Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, p. 86.
[2] P. Semyonov, *A Geographico-Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*, Vol. V, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 972.

brother Vysheslav. This occurred not later than 1015. Yaroslav's connections with Rostov are manifest, since the Kotorosl takes its source in Lake Rostov. Yaroslavl was therefore meant to guard the route from the Volga to Rostov. This suggests that it was founded prior to 1015.

In the annals, Yaroslavl first occurs in 1071. As in Rostov, its pagan sentiments were high. The uprising in the Rostov Land was engineered by "two soothsayers" from Yaroslavl.[1]

A peculiar feature of Yaroslavl's history was its slow development as an urban centre in the 11th and 12th centuries, despite the fact that, in contrast to Rostov, it stood on the great Volga route. This shows once again how risky are speculations about the origin of some towns as commercial centres. The general revival of the Volga route in the early 13th century was also felt in Yaroslavl.

The reports of that period describe Yaroslavl as a sizable town. In the fire of 1221, it lost 17 churches. It had a special royal court, where Konstantin Vsevolodovich erected a stone Church of the Assumption. Yaroslavl's enhanced importance in the early 13th century is seen from the fact that the Rostov bishop was styled the shepherd and teacher "to Rostov and Yaroslavl and Ugliche Polye" as well as by the emergence of a royal dynasty in Yaroslavl.[2]

Preliminary excavations on the territory of the former *detinets* in Yaroslavl have so far yielded very little for the history of the town between the 11th and 13th centuries. Fishing, it appears, was one of its important industries, "testified to by the numerous plummets and boats with iron-riveted plating."[3] Among other finds were the remains of a stone church, presumably that of the Assump-

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 170.

[2] Ibid., p. 423 ("The *gorod* of Yaroslavl caught fire and was nearly all razed, and of churches 17 were burned"), pp. 416, 434, 420.

[3] Н. Н. Воронин, *Раскопки в Ярославле* (N. N. Voronin, *Excavations in Yaroslavl*), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 11, pp. 177-92.

tion of 1216, fragments of tile brick almost like the brick used in the Cathedral of the Assumption at the monastery of a Vladimir princess of the early 13th century. The meagre results of the excavations in Yaroslavl may very well be the result of the fact that they were made on a limited territory.

The ancient town stood on a promontory where the Kotorosl joins the Volga and where the Cathedral of the Assumption and several churches used to stand. This part of the town was subsequently called Rubleny Gorod and was adjacent to Zemlyanoi Gorod.

Uglich, or Ugliche Polye, is first mentioned in 1149 in connection with the war between the Novgorodians and the Suzdalians.[1] Its name is explained by the fact that at the point where it stands the Volga makes a sharp turn, resembling a corner (*uglich*), but it is hard to say what truth there is in this etymological essay. A legendary history of Uglich says that it was inhabited by people "who were called Uglyani in olden times, and who lived in settlements along the bank of that River Volga." It adds that the town was built by a minor prince, Yan, in the 10th century. But this is fiction, pure and simple, dating from the 17th-18th centuries.[2] The fact that Uglich is mentioned only once again, in the note for 1231, shows that it was not very important in that land before the Mongolian invasion.

Nizhny Novgorod began to rise in the early 13th century. It was founded in 1221 by Yuri Vsevolodovich.[3] Its geographical position was exceptional. It stood on Dyatlovy Hills where the Oka empties into the Volga. Melnikov has adduced cogent proof that an earlier Rus town had stood on the site of the one built by Yuri, which in turn

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 304.

[2] F. Gilyarov, *Legends in the Russian Initial Chronicle*, Moscow, 1878, pp. 321-25; see also Ф. Киссель, *История города Углича* (F. Kissel, *A History of the Town of Uglich*), Yaroslavl, 1844.

[3] "He founded a *grad* at the mouth of the Oka." (*Lavrenty Annals*, p. 423.)

was preceded by a still earlier settlement.[1] An old but authentic story has the section of later Nizhny Novgorod inhabited by the Mordva. "And the land was held by the pagans, the Mordva," says the later and confused Novgorod chronicle.

It would appear that a Mordovian townlet had stood on the site of Nizhny Novgorod, while the Rus settlement at the mouth of the Oka began to grow with the increased intercourse between Zalessk Rus and Volga Bulgaria.[2]

Nizhny Novgorod became a base for the campaign of the Rus princes against the Mordovian lands. By the time of the Mongolian invasion it had developed so far that the chronicler styles it as a second Novgorod. Among the features that gave it a character apart were its stone Church of the Saviour built in 1225,[3] and the Monastery of the Mother of God, which stood outside the town limits. Its magnificent site on the hills overlooking a mighty river was so reminiscent of Kiev that some of the latter's topographical names were transferred to the new town. A Pochaina River made its appearance in Nizhny Novgorod while its monastery was named Pechera.

Volok-Lamsky is first mentioned in 1135 as the rallying point for the Novgorod and Kiev armies.[4] The name Volok indicates that a water route lay along the Lama, the Shosha and the Volga. The Lama was navigable during spring floods. The town probably sprang up where the

[1] П. И. Мельников, *О старом и новом городах в Нижнем Новгороде* (P. I. Melnikov, *Concerning the Old and New Gorods in Nizhny Novgorod*) *Trudy IV Arkheologicheskogo syezda v Kazani*, 1877, pp. 178-85.

[2] Л.М. Каптерев, *Нижегородское Поволжье X–XVI веков* (L.M. Kapterev, *The Nizhny Novgorod Area of the Volga from the 10th to the 16th Centuries*), Gorky, 1939, pp. 75-78; see also C. Агафонов, *Горький—Нижний Новгород* (S. Agafonov, *Gorky-Nizhny Novgorod*), Moscow, 1947.

[3] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 425-29.

[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 287, 367; И. П. Машков, *Воскресенский собор в Волоколамске* (I. P. Mashkov, *Cathedral of the Resurrection in Volokolamsk*), *Sbornik statei v chest gr. P. S. Uvarovoi*, Moscow, 1916, pp. 295-310.

water route ended and the portage to Lake Trostenskoye began. The latter is the source of the Ozyorna, which empties into the Ruza, a tributary of the Moskva River. The ancient *gorodishche* and its walls stand to this day. It is situated on a small hill which rises from 11 to 17 metres above the surrounding countryside. On two sides the citadel is washed by the Gorodnya River which flows into the Lama two kilometres below the town. There are no reports that it was an important town in the 12th-13th centuries. The *Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, in its item for 1213, mentions Volok as a settlement to which Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich fled from Yuryev.[1]

An item for 1209 first mentions **Tver** whose emergence Tatishchev, and Borzakovsky after him, dated to 1181, when the Novgorodians and the Chernigovites met "on the Volga at the mouth of the Tver."[2] It got its name from the Tvertsa, or Tver River, for it originally stood where it joins the Volga. The fact that it was first built on the northern bank of the Volga is taken as an indication that the Novgorodians regarded it as an outpost on their border with the Suzdal Land, but in 1215 it was unquestionably an integral part of the volosts under Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Pereyaslavl.[3] The reports of the discord between Yaroslav and the Novgorodians reveal the importance of the new town, which was situated on the most convenient road from Novgorod to the Suzdal Land. By seizing Torzhok and Tver, the Pereyaslavl prince cut Novgorod's supply routes and caused famine in the town.

Tver's original site has not yet been discovered, although the chronicler's mention of the mouth of the Tver argues that it first stood on the northern bank of the

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[1] "And he fled to Volok, and from Volok to Moscow." (*Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, p. 111.)

[2] *Novgorod Annals*, p. 36.

[3] В. С. Борзаковскій, *Исторія Тверского княжества* (V. S. Borzakovsky, *History of the Tver Principality*), St. Petersburg, 1876, pp. 17-19.

Volga. The finds of 10th-century German coins on the territory of the town on the northern bank of the Tver indicate that it was settled at an early date. Some scholars believe that the mention of the superior of Otroch Monastery, who visited Vladimir in 1206, proves the early settlement of Tver, but this is an obvious misunderstanding, for it is the Otroch Monastery in Smolensk that is dealt with in the chronicles. Here is what it says: "There came to Vladimir at that time also the Smolensk bishop, Mikhail, the superior of Otroch Monastery, because they came from Smolensk from Mstislav to pray for his forgiveness."[1]

As a town, Tver took shape in the early 13th century.

Kolomna also made its appearance only in the 12th century as a town on the road between Vladimir and Ryazan. It is first mentioned as a town in 1177 when Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo learned in Kolomna that the Ryazan princes had gone to Vladimir "by another road."[2] The water route along the Klyazma, the Moskva and the Oka was a beaten track to the Ryazan Land and back.

By that time, Kolomna had already become a juncture, for it linked up the upper and lower reaches of the Oka with the Moskva River basin.[3] The Eastern chronicles say that Kulkan, a son of Genghis Khan, was killed at Kolomna.[4]

It stood where the Kolomenka flows into the Moskva River and got its name from the former. Its site was well chosen from the defence standpoint, for the area around the confluence of the Moskva and the Oka is annually

[1] А. Н. Вершинский, *Возникновение феодальной Твери* (A. N. Vershinsky, *The Emergence of Feudal Tver*), *Problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv*, Nos. 9-10, 1935, p. 114; *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 404.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 363-64.

[3] Ibid., p. 382.

[4] В. Г. Тизенгаузен, *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды* (V. G. Tizengauzen, *A Collection of Materials on the History of the Golden Horde*), Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 36.

flooded by spring waters.[1] Kolomna's present-day krem-
lin occupies a larger territory than the ancient *gorod*. As
in other ancient towns, its market-place lay just beyond
the kremlin walls. Its Pyatnitsa Gates remind us of the
Pyatnitsa Church, a traditional feature of ancient market
squares.

As an urban settlement **Bogolyubovo** had a character
apart.

The chronicler tells us that it arose as a royal seat simi-
lar to Vyshgorod near Kiev. The choice of its site was a
happy one, for it stood near the juncture between the Nerl
and the Klyazma so that it commanded the approaches
both to Vladimir and Suzdal. But this also had its dis-
advantages, for its two powerful neighbours soon brought
about its economic decline.[2]

The distant north of the Zalessk Land boasted of
four towns—Beloozero, Ustyug, Vologda and Kostroma.

Beloozero is mentioned in the opening pages of the
chronicle which says: "The Ves sit in Beloozero." The
story about the invitation of the Varangians has the
legendary Sineus ruling Beloozero. Stories of its impor-
tance and of the Ves who inhabited it are confirmed by
Ibn-Fahdlan's reports about the land of the Visu, the
source of the sable and black fox.[3] But it is doubtful that
it was a big populated locality in the 11th-13th centuries;
what is more probable is that it was a fortified townlet
where the pagan faith still held its ground as late as the
11th century, if we are to believe the report about the
uprising of the soothsayers in 1071.

Ustyug is first mentioned in 1218 when it was cap-
tured by the Bulgars.[4] It bears a Russian name denoting

[1] O. P. Bulich, *Kolomna*, Moscow, 1928, p. 8.
[2] For details about Bogolyubovo see article by N. N. Voronin *On the Banks of the Klyazma and the Niemen* in the collection: *Po sledam drevnikh kultur. Drevnyaya Rus*, pp. 255-88.
[3] *Ibn Fahdlan's Voyage to the Volga*, p. 74.
[4] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 476 ("the Bulgars took Ustyug"). The *Ustyug* (*Arkhangelogorodskaya*) *Chronicle* erroneously calls them Tatars.

that it was situated at the mouth of the Yug River (*Ust-Yug*) where it meets the Sukhona. Its convenient site furthered its growth, and from the 13th to the 17th centuries it was a major town in the basin of the Sukhona and the Northern Dvina.

Tradition has it that Ustyug was originally built on Mount Gleden on the right bank of the Sukhona where it joins the Yug. Later it was transferred to the left bank of the Sukhona, 4 kilometres from Gleden, with only the Monastery of the Trinity remaining on the old site.

Local lore has it that the town was transferred because the Yug River was gradually washing away Mount Gleden. Yet the Monastery of the Trinity stands to this day on the old site, and there appears to be no immediate danger of landslides. This suggests that the transfer was effected for commercial and strategic reasons following an intensification of attacks by the Kama Bulgars in the early 13th century.

The town stood on the northern bank of the Sukhona, which served as a barrier against incursion from the south. Indeed, its *gorodishche*, which was situated at a distance from its subsequent centre, was a fort in a depression surrounded by swamps and the valley of a small tributary of the Sukhona. It resembled the *gorodishches* of Vladimir-Suzdal Rus, such as those at Dmitrov and Pereyaslavl. It was on the bank of the Sukhona where there must have been a landing-stage. In the 17th century the old town was called a *gorodishche* "beyond the old rampart."[1]

Stories of ancient Ustyug describe it as a rich and rather densely populated town.

Despite the scarcity of reports about Ustyug, it appears as one of the major Rus towns in the distant north. And

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[1] Борис Дунаев, *Город Устюг Великий* (Boris Dunayev, *The Town of Ustyug Veliky*), Obrazovaniye Publishing House, 1919.

that is how it is described in the *Discourse on the Destruction of the Rus Land*, according to which the Rus land in the east stretches up to Ustyug beyond which live the "pagan Toimitsy."

Vologda deserves mention among the towns of the north. An old report says that Gerasim of Vologda arrived from Kiev in 1147 "before the building of the *gorod* of Vologda." The *Life of Gerasim* is a late and doubtful source, but the date of Gerasim's arrival in the town may have been recorded in the margins of monasterial books' or in the concluding remarks. Novgorod's treaty with Yaroslav Yaroslavich in 1263 reveals that Vologda existed in the 13th century.

Excavations in Vologda yielded a "fragment of a black twisted glass bracelet, dating from between the 11th and 13th centuries," an indication that a settlement had stood on the site even before the Mongolian invasion.[1]

Kostroma had also emerged before the Mongolian invasion and was reportedly burned in 1214.[2]

The belief that the town was originally built on the site of the Gorodishche settlement on the right bank of the Volga was disproved by excavations at the turn of the century, for the finds on the site dated from the early ages. No 11th- or 12th-century objects were found. Some of them made it clear that until the mid-13th century Kostroma had stood on the left bank of the Volga on the territory of the present-day town. It was named after the Kostroma River.

Its original *detinets* was on a high hill at the confluence of the Sula and the Volga where the wooden Church of Fyodor Stratilat, mentioned in the annals for 1276, once stood. An old rampart was still visible on the site in the

[1] А. В. Никитин. *Раскопки в Вологде в 1948 году* (A. V. Nikitin, *Excavations in Vologda in 1948*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. LII, 1953, pp. 99-104.
[2] *Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky*, p. 111.

17th century and yielded an abundance of ceramics during the excavations. Vessels discovered in Kostroma "are always broader than they are high"—a local feature.

Another remarkable find was a clay stove with pieces of white glass and iron slag used in the making of glass. "The materials discovered there suggest that pre-Mongolian Kostroma had a special workshop for making glass bracelets." Similar workshops dating from that period were discovered only in Kiev.[1]

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[1] М.В. Фехнер, *Раскопки в Костроме* (M. V. Fekhner, *Excavations in Kostroma*), *Kratkiye soobshchenia IIMK*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 101-08.

Chapter Nine

RYAZAN LAND

A list of Rus towns in the late 14th and early 15th century shows that there was a considerable number of urban settlements in the Ryazan Land, but most of them were apparently small.[1] There were only four towns with a big population—Ryazan, Murom, Pronsk and possibly Pereyaslavl Ryazansky.

Ryazan, now known as Staraya Ryazan, was built on the high right bank of the Oka just below the point where it meets the Pronya. It is first mentioned in 1096 in connection with the war between Oleg Svyatoslavich and Vladimir Monomakh, but unquestionably existed much earlier.[2] Ilovaisky believed its name to be a derivative of the local word *ryasa*, meaning a boggy or swampy place.[3] But this suggestion is not a happy one. Ryazan was most probably named after some Mordovian tribal name like *Erzya*.

It makes its appearance in the chronicles at a rather late date (1096), but from then on Ryazan and the Rya-

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[1] See my *List of Rus Towns, Near and Distant* (*Istoricheskiye Zapiski*, No. 40, 1952, pp. 214-59).

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 223.

[3] Д. Иловайскій, *История Рязанского княжества* (D. Ilovaisky, *A History of Ryazan Principality*), Moscow, 1858, p. 23.

zanians are almost continuously mentioned in the records. The Ryazanians and their princes waged an unceasing struggle against the grand princes at Vladimir for supremacy in North-Eastern Rus. But the nature of the reports is such that we can glean hardly anything about the town itself, which is easier studied with the aid of the spade.

In the 12th-13th centuries that part of the Ryazan Land which lay along the Oka and the Pronya was rather densely populated as shown by the reports about the several settlements in that area. The upper reaches of the Pronya were close to those of the Don. Ryazan was a kind of link in one of the caravan routes from the area between the Volga and the Oka to the shores of the Sea of Azov. Its fertile soil, floodland meadows and the river rich with fish, favoured the growth of the town.

Staraya Ryazan was a major town of that land.

To this day we find the remains of an ancient rampart which surrounded the town on three sides. On the fourth it was protected by the steep river-bank. Its territory was greater than that of conventional citadels.

Mongait, who has made most thorough topographical studies of Staraya Ryazan, gives the following description of its *gorodishche*: "Ryazan's *gorodishche*, now a cultivated field, is surrounded by a rampart and a deep moat in the south and east. In the north, it ends in a ravine at the bottom of which flows the Serebryanka Stream which empties into the Oka. Its southern section lies partially along the right bank of the Chornaya River and the western is washed by the Oka. The wall separated the field from the ancient *gorod* which occupies some 48 hectares and in plan resembles a rectangle."[1]

An important feature of its *gorodishche* was a hill in its northern section. This hill was separated from the rest of the *gorodishche* by a ravine, a former moat. Mongait be-

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[1] А. Л. Монгайт, *Топография Старой Рязани* (A. L. Mongait, *A Topography of Staraya Ryazan*), *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 104-15.

lieves that it was the site of the earliest Slav settlement of the 10th century which later spread to the entire territory now encompassed by the inner wall. In the 11th century, it was the site of the kremlin. In the 12th century, Ryazan was surrounded by extensive walls; the prince and the boyars moved to the more convenient southern section, where the cathedrals of the Assumption and of Saints Boris and Gleb stood.

The arrangement suggested by Mongait is very plausible but requires further study. It is very similar to the layout of ancient Kiev, where the original town was also concentrated around the Church of the Tithes and later shifted to St. Sophia's Cathedral. It is doubtful that the walls went clear round the town because some crafts required easy access to water and were usually established on lowlying river-banks. It is impossible to say how far the handicraft neighbourhoods stretched, because the town later declined in importance and the earlier layout was forgotten. At any rate, its traces should be found in the vicinity of the *gorod*, possibly in the area around Staraya Ryazan village.

The town had two cathedrals. The cruciform plan of one of them, the Cathedral of Saints Boris and Gleb, was taken by some scholars as an indication of the influence of 12th-century Caucasian architecture, as in the case of the church in Oleg's townlet at the confluence of the Pronya and the Oka.[1] This is of great interest to the historian considering the ties that existed between the neighbouring Zalessk Land and the Caucasus.

The caches discovered on the territory indicate that Ryazan was once a rich town. In 1822, local peasants discovered within the rampart a cache of gold objects in a rotten sack which lay at a depth of 0.6 metre. It included 11 round breast badges (*barma*), adorned with precious

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[1] A. I. Nekrasov, *Essays on the History of Ancient Rus Architecture between the 11th and 17th Centuries*, pp. 76-77.

stones, enamel and pearls. The first students of the cache noted that a medallion with Irina's portrait bore the inscription "Orina," the "o" being an indication that it was made by a Russian.[1]

To.stoi and Kondakov believe that some of the medallions were made "by local Ryazan craftsmen." They note that the "filigree work, while remaining of the old type, is distinguished by its rare perfection and unprecedented fineness, clearly testifying to the skill of Rus craftsmen."[2] Judging by their rich ornamentation, the Ryazan badges were made by court craftsmen.

The recurrent discoveries of caches in the Ryazan area prove that the valuables could not have been accidentally brought to that distant part of Ancient Rus. Such caches were found in Staraya Ryazan in 1868 during the tilling of land near the remains of the ancient wall of the *gorodishche*, and in 1887 after a landslide of the rain-soaked side of a hill on which there was a country churchyard. The objects in the second cache were wrapped up in a cloth and lay at a depth of 32 *arshins* below the surface.[3] The Ryazan caches are remarkably uniform in composition. Most of the articles are shoulder ornaments in which Ryazan craftsmen appear to have specialized. The difference in ornamentation indicates that they were made not only for the royal court but also for sale.

Recent excavations reveal that Staraya Ryazan had many craftsmen working ferrous and non-ferrous metals. One of its huts yie!ded "tin ingots and numerous cuttings of thin copper sheeting, small copper objects and copper shavings." A hole near a craftsman's semi-pit-dwelling yielded "a great quantity of iron slag, blooms, a hammer

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[1] *Ryazanskiye russkiye drevnosti ili izvestiye o starinnykh i bogatykh velikoknyazheskikh ili tsarskikh ubranstvakh naidennykh v 1822 g. bliz sela Staraya Ryazan*, St. Petersburg, 1831.

[2] I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities*, Issue V, p. 104.

[3] A. S. Gushchin, *Memorials of Art Crafts in Ancient Rus in the 10th-13th Centuries*, pp. 77-80.

and chisel." Staraya Ryazan specialized in cloisonné enamel. Repeated finds of necklaces, very often of the richest kind, indicate that it was a centre of their production. But smaller and less expensive objects for the common market were also manufactured. Ryazan objects were distributed not only in neighbouring Rus lands but also among the Mordovian population. This is proved by the discovery of "thin narrow copper strips used to make Mordovian plaitclasps."[1]

The excavations yielded mainly pit-dwellings and semipit-dwellings of craftsmen. But there were also surface structures of much greater size. One building was rather spacious and had a clay stove in a corner. To the north of it stood a barn where grains of rye were discovered. The central and south-eastern sections of Staraya Ryazan were less densely populated than its northern section, judging by their thin cultural layer. They may have been inhabited by wealthier people whose estates were surrounded by orchards and vegetable gardens. In its heyday, Staraya Ryazan was a typical medieval town: its houses alternated with vegetable patches, orchards and vacant lots.

The records depict Ryazan as a big centre which had its own princes since the late 11th century. A prominent figure among them was Yaroslav Svyatoslavich, the youngest brother of the famous Oleg of Chernigov. The establishment of the Chernigov line of princes in Ryazan indicated that it was settled from the Severyane Land. This explains the unceasing and bitter struggle between the Ryazan and Vladimir princes. The difference between the Ryazan and Zalessk lands did not lie only in the fact that they were ruled by different royal houses but also in their different tribal origin: the Ryazanians sprang from the Vyatichi and the Severyane, and the Vladimirians from the Krivichi.

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[1] A.L. Mongait, op. cit., pp. 104-15.

In 1195, Ryazan already had its Cathedral of Saints Boris and Gleb with a burial vault of the Ryazan princes. Excavations have revealed the foundations of three stone cathedrals—the Assumption, Our Saviour and of Saints Boris and Gleb. Its fortifications were made of wood. This is evident from the chronicle reports about the firing of the "*grad*" in Ryazan in 1208, at the order of Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo. The same report indicates that the word "Ryazanians" was used to denote the townsfolk, who were capable of addressing the Vladimir prince with "violent words, according to their custom and their unruliness." But having ordered the burning of the fortifications, Vsevolod spared the people and their property.[1] It is not known when the bishop's residence was transferred from Murom to Ryazan, but at any rate it took place not later than the beginning of the 13th century.

Murom was the second centre of the Ryazan Land. It is one of the earliest Rus towns which has retained its pre-Slavonic name. The *Primary Chronicle* mentioned the existence of a people called the Muroma who gave the town its name. As late as the 16th century, local lore retained stories about Murom's stiff resistance to the introduction of Christianity and about its erstwhile glory. The author of a story about Murom even tried to interpret its name as follows: "It had stone and marble walls and that is why it was named Murom."[2]

The belief in the glorious past of their native towns is frequent not only among 16th-century authors but even among our contemporaries. What is more important in the story about Murom is the author's assertion that the town had stood "not where it is today, but was somewhere in the same *grad* at a distance from the present-day

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[1] "And the grand prince ordered all the people to leave the *grad* and with their goods, and when all had gone he ordered the *grad* fired." (*Laurenty Annals*, pp. 412-13.)

[2] A. L. Mongait confuses the people (Muroma) with the town (see his *Murom*, 1947, p. 5).

grad."[1] This latter was the Murom Staroye Gorodishche. Hence, the ancient pre-Slavonic Murom lay somewhere nearby.

Murom makes us inquire as to why a major town arose in that particular part of the Oka basin. This may be due to its proximity to the neighbouring Mordovian lands with which it was connected by the Tesha as well as the Moksha and the Tsna. Originally, Murom, like Beloozero and its surrounding country, the Visu, may have emerged as a trading centre between the neighbouring Mordovian lands and Great Bulgar. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in 1088 "the Bulgars took Murom." This report reveals Murom's ties with the Kama Bulgars and their claims to it.

The chronicle suggests that Murom had existed as early as the 9th century. At all events, in the late 10th and early 11th century, we find it ruled by an independent prince, Gleb Vladimirovich,[2] who was killed at the order of Svyatopolk the Damned.

The Lay of Grad Murom insists that Gleb failed to vanquish the "godless" people and for two years lived some 12 versts from the town. This may be an echo of some factual event. In the 11th-12th centuries the princes Boris and Gleb were regarded as Murom's patron saints so that one of its cathedrals was dedicated to them.

The scholar cannot ignore the date of the establishment of Christianity in Murom, because it is connected with the installation of Rus princes on the Oka. We are already aware from the report of the execution of the Novgorod *posadnik* Konstantin, who had fallen into disgrace, that Yaroslav the Wise had held Murom.[3] Nevertheless, many scholars date the introduction of Christianity to a later

[1] Н. Серебрянский, *Древнерусские княжеские жития* (N. Serebryansky, *Royal Hagiographies of Ancient Rus*), *Chtenia v obshchestve istorii i drevnostei Rossiiskikh*, 1915, Book 3, Addenda, pp. 100-01.

[2] *Lavrenty Annals*, pp. 201, 118.

[3] *PSRL*, Vol. XV, p. 142.

period on the strength of *The Lay of Grad Murom*, according to which it was converted by Prince Konstantin and his sons Mikhail and Fyodor. *The Lay* is very confusing in its different versions but some scholars have made disconcerted attempts to regard it as historically authentic.

D. I. Ilovaisky believes that the people of Murom were converted in the early 12th century, assuming that the Konstantin of the hagiography was Yaroslav Svyatoslavich despite the fact that his Christian name was Pankraty.[1] The authors who have described Murom antiquities insist that Konstantin died in 1205.[2] N. Serebryansky believes that the date of the death of the princes given in the hagiography—early 13th century—may be correct because at the writing of the hagiographies of the Murom princes (*The Lay of Grad Murom*) the only source was their tombstones. The name of Konstantin and the stories about the difficulty of converting the Muromites gave rise to the legend that it was Prince Konstantin who was responsible for the act.

I believe that the dates mentioned in the hagiographies of the Murom princes—1224 and 1232 (6731 and 6740)—may be regarded as authentic because the author himself speaks of the stone slabs discovered on the royal tombs which could have borne their names and dates.[3] Murom's baptism had already taken place by that time, and Konstantin was proclaimed the apostle of Murom in imitation of Constantine the Great. As a consequence, his feast was celebrated on May 21, the feast of the apostolic Constantine and Helen.

In the late 11th century, there is mention of the Muromites and of Murom as a big *grad* on the Oka. At that time, the prince of Murom was Yaroslav Svyatoslavich,

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[1] Д. Иловайский, *История Рязанского княжества* (D. Ilovaisky, *A History of Ryazan Principality*), pp. 33-34; see also in the *Christian Calendar*, Moscow, 1900, the item for May 21.

[2] *Sputnik po Vladimiru*, p. 322.

[3] N. Serebryansky, op. cit., Book 3, pp. 238-39.

who is so styled in the message of Metropolitan Nikifor. By that time Murom was clearly a Christian town and in 1174 it had a church "of Christ" built by Prince Georgy of Murom.[1]

The original 11th-century *gorod* stood in the Staroye Gorodishche where the Church of the Annunciation (later Annunciation Monastery) was situated. In the 16th century, it was regarded as the "first" church. The "great stone slabs" of the deceased princes were discovered there. The existence of a special Murom diocese indicates that 11th-century Murom was an important town, and its transfer to Ryazan marked the beginning of Murom's decline.

Objects dating from between the 7th and 11th centuries were discovered in the Murom burial ground, some 500 metres from the kremlin.

They are typical of Murom burial grounds. This is particularly true of the women's sepultures with their "rustling" pendants, miscellaneous rings, spiral bracelets, etc. The burial ground must have occupied an extensive part of present-day Murom. Y. I. Goryunova says that "the Murom settlement stood on the territory of the town, near its centre—the kremlin—as early as the 10th and beginning of the 11th century." This is borne out by the legend about Prince Gleb, who could not vanquish the pagans in Murom. It is very possible therefore that the Rus *gorod* in Murom emerged not in the 9th but rather in the late 10th or early 11th century, although the chronicle does not mention the town, as Goryunova believes, but the people, Muroma.[2]

The excavations of 11th- and 12th-century layers near the Church of Nikola Naberezhny on the bank of the Oka yielded iron slag and copper oxide, slate cross-pieces, fragments of glass bracelets, cross-pieces for spindles and plummets. Because of their limited nature, the excavations

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[1] *Lavrenty Annals*, p. 347.
[2] Е. И. Горюнова, *Муромский могильник* (Y. I. Goryunova, *The Murom Burial Ground*), *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 52, pp. 33-42.

do not shed enough light on the handicraft specialization of the town, but a wide variety of miscellaneous metal ornaments discovered in the sepultures of the Murom burial ground is apparently an indication that metal-working was developed.[1]

The third centre of the Ryazan Land was **Pronsk**, which was situated at a distance from the Oka, on the border with Polovetskoye Polye.

It was named after the Pronya River on which it stands and is first mentioned in 1186 in connection with its siege by Suzdal troops. At that time it already had a stout *grad* surrounded by manors. The story of a second siege in 1207 reports that its people were certain that the "stout *grad*" would hold out. But its water supply was poor. "They left the *grad* not because of the battle but because of the thirst for water, for many people died in the *grad*."[2]

The Pronsk citadel stood on the site of the "magistracies and two ancient churches, on a long narrow platform surrounded by a steep fall on one side and by deep ravines on the other."[3]

Thus, the citadel proved to be a disadvantage when the town was surrounded. In the early 13th century, the citadel had three gates, one of them "on the hill." This seems to indicate that its territory was more extensive than the above-mentioned narrow platform which had ravines on either side, since the existence of three gates suggests that they faced different sides.

The relative importance of the town is indicated by the report that the Pronians seated princes at their discretion and replied with "violent" words to Prince Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo.

Pereyaslavl Ryazansky, present-day Ryazan, made its

[1] Y. I. Goryunova, op. cit., p. 41.
[2] *Laurenty Annals*, p. 380. "When they (the Pronsk princes) learned of this, they began to fortify the *gorod*." (Ibid., p. 410.)
[3] P. Semyonov, *A Geographico-Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 219.

appearance, according to tradition, in the late 12th century. It was the third Pereyaslavl on the Trubezh River, a clear imitation of southern geographical names. We have a rather early report about the emergence of the town. A MS. of the *Psalter* of 1570 written by the pope Mark of St. Ilya's, which belonged to the Ryazan seminary, says: "In the year 6603 (1095) the *grad* Pereyaslavl Ryazansky was founded near the Church of St. Nikola Stary." On the strength of Gerberstein's report that the citadel in Ryazan was called Yaroslav (i.e., Yaroslavl), the publishers of *Ryazan Antiquities* draw the following conclusion: "The Yaroslavl citadel was unquestionably founded by the first Ryazan Prince Yaroslav Svyatoslavich in 1095." Another possible date is 1208, when *grad* Pereyslavl near Lake Karasevo, lived in Ryazan.[1] Both reports are in the nature of reminiscences, similar to those mentioning the Church of Nikola Stary and Lake Karasevo.

[1] *Ryazan Antiquities, Collected by Archimandrite Ieronim*. Notes by I. Dobrolyubov, Ryazan, 1889, pp. 2, 10.

CONCLUSION

Rus towns emerged in high antiquity but they took shape as commercial and industrial centres only between the 10th and 12th centuries. The *posads* first sprang up near the walls of such towns as Kiev and Polotsk but later they became a feature of every big town. Populated localities often became *gorods* by being walled in after they had long existed as unfortified settlements. Towns served as handicraft and trading centres for the surrounding farming areas. It was not foreign trade, but the separation of the handicrafts from agriculture, the intensification of exchange between industrial and agricultural production, the development of agriculture and feudal relationships that was the prime cause of the growth of Rus towns in the 10th-13th centuries.

The towns naturally did not break their ties with the surrounding countryside. In the towns sway was held by the boyars who had large holdings in the countryside, but the part played by the townsfolk grew steadily. *Gorozhane* is a term that spread rapidly beginning with the second half of the 11th century. It coincides in every way with the West-European Bürger and bourgeois, as opposed to the countryman. "The *grazhdane*, and those from the manors," says a translation from Grigory Nazianzin dating from

the 11th century. The same memorial says that the citizenry were a group apart from the royal authority, "divided into two parts—the *voivodstvo* and the *grazhdanstvo*."[1]

In our sources, the townsfolk are clearly distinguished from the boyars as has been seen in earlier examples. The bulk of them are merchants and craftsmen. The most opulent and influential merchants began to organize merchant associations at an early date, with the Ivanskoye *Sto* being the most famous among them. Their written charters were drawn up roughly in the 12th century when similar corporations made their appearance in most West-European towns. The craftsmen also organized corporations, instituted apprenticeship and strove to establish control over the market. These phenomena had unquestionably occurred in Rus towns, which developed like towns in Western Europe, Byzantium, the Transcaucasus and Asia Minor. That is why it may be safely asserted that the so-called "urban system" as it is termed in West-European writings, took shape in Ancient Rus between the 11th and 13th centuries. Towns inhabited by craftsmen and merchants were as much an integral element of Russian feudalism as they were in the West and the East.

There was a tendency to contain royal authority in the towns. This first was manifest in Kiev with its rich commercial and industrial population. The Kiev uprising of 1068 was an important turning point in the struggle for civic freedoms. The townsfolk chose their own princes and supported them by force of arms. The *veche* and the elective *posadniki* and *tysyatskiye* became the civic authorities. Civic freedoms were won in the class struggle among the townsfolk, a fact very clearly seen in early 13th-century Novgorod, where the protagonists were the "senior" and the "junior" people.

In the 11th-13th centuries the towns became typical

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[1] I.I. Sreznevsky, *Dictionary*, Vol. I, col. 577.

feudal centres. They were surrounded by fortifications which in the major centres embraced sizable territories. Not only the *gorod* but also the *posad*, or *predgradye*, were walled in. The urban market, the *torgovishche*, was highly important, for it was the centre of economic and often political activity. Rus towns were built up with magnificent buildings, there was a manifest tendency to improve amenities (wooden pavements, bridges across rivers and streams, etc). The number of stone buildings grew steadily, and side by side with the temples we find stone dwellings of the civilian type. But wooden buildings prevailed in that pronounced continental climate with its bitterly cold winters.

Rus towns did not lag behind their western and eastern counterparts.

The little-studied history of Rus towns before the Mongolian invasion merits thorough and profound attention if only because it sheds light on the development of Ancient Rus culture. It was not only the princes, the boyars and the clergy but also the broad masses of citizens, craftsmen and merchants, who took part in the development of Russian culture. The devastation of Rus towns by the Tatars was an unprecedented calamity, but their culture survived and left its imprint on the history of three fraternal peoples —the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians.

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